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THE USE OF THE HIGH-SOLED SHOE OR BUSKIN
IN GREEK TRAGEDY OF THE FIFTH AND
FOURTH CENTURIES B.C.

BY KENDALL K. SMITH

“**T**HEN the centre doors of the dressing-house open and Oedipus comes forth (the first actor). He seems taller than an ordinary man, because he has on the buskin (or tragic boot) and because he is wearing the lofty tragic mask, which rises high above his own head.” — Brander Matthews.¹

Such is the popular conception of a Greek tragic actor. Scholars who have taken a deeper interest in the subject tell us that this buskin had a sole at least four inches high, and often, perhaps usually, reached a height of eight or ten inches.² Even the most conservative agree that actors in classic Greek tragedy walked about in shoes with soles of more than ordinary thickness.

In the face of such unanimity of opinion it may seem strange that I have ventured to investigate the subject afresh. It was the doubt expressed by Professor Edward Capps, of the University of Chicago, that first prompted my investigation of the evidence on the use of the buskin or high-soled shoe in the fifth and fourth centuries before Christ. This evidence I found to be both insufficient and contradictory; but I present it in full in the hope that it may be valuable for reference, even though it lead us to no positive conclusion.

Many difficulties arise in treating a subject of this nature. None of the works of art have been accessible except through publications, and these in many cases, I fear, inexact. For this reason my calculations of the height of different soles is only approximate. Furthermore, I

¹ *The Development of the Drama*, p. 57, New York, 1903.

² Boettiger, *Kl. Schr.* I², p. 283, Leipzig, 1850. Flach, *Das griechische Theater*, p. 24, Tübingen, 1878. Genelli, *Das Theater zu Athen*, p. 84, Berlin and Leipzig, 1818. Donaldson, *The Theatre of the Greeks*⁸, p. 280 ff., London, 1875. Geppert, *Die altgriechische Bühne*, p. 272, Leipzig, 1843; and the more recent authorities.

have not had time to take up the problem of the Roman tragic boot which Dierks¹ says did not have a high sole. Consequently I may have used evidence for the Greek buskin which belonged to the Roman *cothurnus*. In any case, it has not been my purpose to discover the shape or size of the buskin, but simply to find out if the classic period made use of the high sole.

EVIDENCE FROM CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE

Two passages from Aristophanes furnish all the evidence from contemporary literature on which can be based arguments in support of the high-soled tragic shoe; and this evidence is extremely uncertain. In *Ranae*, 35, we see Dionysus before the door of Heracles. The latter is surprised to see his visitor in such outlandish garb and exclaims, 45 ff.,

ἀλλ' οὐχ οἶός τ' εἰμ' ἀποσοβῆσαι τὸν γέλων
 ὄρων λεοντήν ἐπὶ κροκωτῷ κειμένην.
 τίς ὁ νοῦς; τί κόθορνος καὶ ῥόπαλον ξυνηλθέτην;

Heracles is convulsed with laughter because of the absurd dress in which Dionysus appears. The latter is Heracles so far as the lion-skin and club are concerned, but his own cloak and shoes reveal his true identity. The *κόθορνος*, therefore, was the shoe of Dionysus, and in course of time came to be the tragic actor's foot-gear when the revelries in honor of the Wine-God had developed into the tragic drama. So Crusius² argues, rejecting the idea that Dionysus here appears in women's garments. He says, "Mir wenigstens scheint es durch keinen Wink des Dichters angezeigt, dass der Gott nicht in seinem üblichen Prachtgewande, sondern geradezu als Weib verumumt auf die Bühne gekommen sei. . . . Auch die Fussbekleidung der tragischen Schauspieler darf in der Hauptsache als ein *Ueberlebsel aus jener ältern Zeit* angesehen werden; mit andern Worten: der sicher bezeugte *κόθορνος* des Dionysos war ursprünglich mit dem der tragischen Schauspieler identisch."

If this passage shows the *κόθορνος* to be strictly the shoe of Dionysus, and retained as such by the later tragic actors, then the second passage

¹ Dierks, *De Tragicorum Histriionum Habitu apud Graecos*, p. 18, Göttingen, 1883.

² Crusius, *Zu den Bühnenalterthümern*, in *Philologus*, XLVIII, p. 702 ff.

from Aristophanes, *Av.* 994, may be fairly assumed to carry on this thought. True, no Dionysus, nor yet one of his followers, is the person wearing the shoe, but the pompous swing of the verses at this point may well herald the entrance of some heroic personage in tragic garb. At these lines we discover the Founder of "Cloud-Cuckoo-Town" busy on his great undertaking, but troubled by all sorts of pestering artists, among them the geometrician Meton. When Meton enters, Peithetairos exclaims, 992 ff.,

Πει. ἕτερον αὖ τουτὶ κακόν.

τί δ' αὖ σὺ δράσων; τίς δ' ἰδέα βουλευμάτος;

τίς ἢ πίνουα, τίς ὁ κόθορνος τῆς ὁδοῦ;

and Meton replies,

Με. γεωμετρῆσαι βούλομαι τὸν ἀέρα

ὕμιν διελεῖν τε κατὰ γύας.

Crusius (*l. c.*) says of this passage, "Kock¹ bezog den Ausdruck auf die tragische Fussbekleidung und übersetzt mit Hemsterhuis *ad quod iter te tam magnifice accinxisti?* Wer ohne Voreingenommenheit an die Stelle herantritt, wird dieser Auffassung einen erheblichen Grad von Wahrscheinlichkeit nicht absprechen; ein Mann, der γεωμετρῆσαι βούλεται τὸν ἀέρα, kann die tragischen Stelzen gut gebrauchen." 'To measure off the air' Meton needed to approach as closely as possible to the clouds. That is why he put on κόθορνοι and gave poor Peithetairos such a shock.

This rendering of κόθορνος as 'buskin' is the common one, and is doubly attractive since Crusius has shown how neatly and aptly this meaning fits the answer of Meton in the lines that follow. If this be the correct interpretation, we have very good evidence that κόθορνος was the name of a special shoe worn by actors, and we may perhaps be permitted to assume, as Crusius² does, that it was of the same general

¹ Kock, *Kom. d. Aristoph.* IV³, p. 184. This line has been very troublesome to critics and has been variously rendered by all who do not emend the text. E. g. Merry, *Birds* (Notes, p. 54), translates: 'What means this tragic stride (lit. 'buskin') of your coming here?' and suggests that "possibly κόθορνος was a slang phrase for 'swagger.'" Cf. Blaydes, *Aves*, p. 70, 'calceamentum proprie tragicum.' Green, *Birds*, p. 140, 'cur tam superbe incedis?'

² Crusius assumes an extremely moderate elevation compared with later times, but yet a considerable sole.

character in the classical period as in the second century A.D., when *κόθορνος* is distinctly used by Pollux¹ and Lucian² of tragic shoes with a very high sole.

But is this the correct rendering? I have presented the argument of Crusius in as unbiased a way as possible. Now, I must ask what is the common meaning of *κόθορνος* when used not only by Aristophanes, but by other writers of the classical period?

The word occurs thirteen times in classical literature, and it is recorded that one of the plays of the comic poet Philonides was entitled *Κόθορνοι*. Three times the word is used of a shoe for women alone.

1. Ar. *Eccl.* 344-346,

μὰ τὸν Διόνυσον οὐδ' ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰς ἐμάς
 Λακωνικάς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔτυχον χεζητιῶν
 ἐς τὸ κοθόρνῳ τὸ πόδ' ἐνθεῖς ἵεμαι.

These words merely repeat what he had said at greater length, 311 ff.,

τί τὸ πρᾶγμα; ποῖ ποθ' ἡ γυνὴ φρουδῇ ὅτι μοι;
 ἐπεὶ πρὸς ἔω νῦν γ' ἔστιν, ἡ δ' οὐ φαίνεται.
 ἐγὼ δὲ καταέκμαι πάσαι χεζητιῶν,
 τὰς ἐμβάδας ζητῶν λαβεῖν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ
 καὶ θοιμάτιον· ὅτε δὴ δ' ἐκείνο ψηλαφῶν
 οὐκ ἐδυνάμην εὔρεῖν, ὁ δ' ἤδη τὴν θύραν
 ἐπείχε κρούων ὁ κοπρεαῖος, λαμβάνω
 τουτὶ τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἡμιδιπλοῖδιον
 καὶ τὰς ἐκείνης Περσικὰς ὑφέλκομαι.

The shoes which Bleepyros calls *κοθόρνῳ* he first designates as his wife's "Persians,"³ a name suggesting some kind of effeminate oriental foot-gear. They are plainly contrasted with his own *ἐμβάδες* (*Λακωνικάί*) which his wife has taken as part of her disguise as a man.

2. It is rare to find such corroborative evidence as is given by a passage from Herodotus, I, 155, *κέλευε δὲ σφέας κιθωνάς τε ὑποδύνειν τοῖσι εἵμασι, καὶ κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι . . . καὶ ταχέως σφέας, ὧ*

¹ Poll. 4, 115; cf. 7, 85.

² Luc. *Pro imag.* 3; *Somn.* 26.

³ Poll. 7, 92, *ἴδια δὲ γυναικῶν ὑποδήματα Περσικά.*

βασιλεῦ, γυναῖκας ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ὄψαι γεγονότας. Here we find the Persian king, Cyrus, advised by Croesus to compel the Lydian men to wear κόθορνοι, and by means of this effeminate foot-gear as well as the effeminate cloaks to turn them into a womanish and unwarlike nation; 'make them women instead of men.'

3. Equally convincing is Ar. *Lys.* 657-8,

εἰ δὲ λυπήσεις τί με,
τῷδ' ἄν' ἀπλήκτῳ πατάξω τῷ κοθόρνῳ τὴν γάθον.

If a chorus of women wear it, the κόθορνος is surely a woman's shoe.

Another place where the effeminate nature of the κόθορνος may be practically assured by the company it keeps is the fragment of Lysippus, quoted by Pollux, 7, 89,¹

βλαύτη, κοθόρνῳ, Θερταλίδι.

The other two are expressly the shoes of fops and dandies.² It would be unnatural for κοθόρνῳ to occur, as it does, between these two if its style and use were not similar.

It is not difficult to reconcile with this view of the κόθορνος the anecdote about Megacles, the Alcmaeonid, and Croesus, Hdt. 6, 125, κοθόρνους τοὺς εὗρισκε εὐρυτάτους ἔοντας ὑποδησάμενος . . . πρῶτον μὲν παρέσαξε παρὰ τὰς κνήμας τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὅσον ἐχώρεον οἱ κόθορνοι . . . ἐξήιε ἐκ τοῦ θησαυροῦ ἔλκων μὲν μόγις τοὺς κοθόρνους. Even though a man wears them, he has to procure them and wears them because they are large roomy boots and will hold much gold. No contradiction can be found in these words to the other passage from Herodotus (1, 155) which designates the κόθορνος expressly as a woman's shoe or boot. The shape of the boot is what is emphasized by this passage and not the sex of the wearer.

If we compare with this passage the words of Xenophon, *Hell.* 2, 3, 30-31, τὴν δημοκρατίαν μεταστῆσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους καὶ ἐπρώτευν ἐν ἐκείνοις, ἐπεὶ δ' ἤσθητο ἀντίπαλόν τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ συνιστάμενον, πρῶτος αὖ ἡγεμὼν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐγένετο· ὅθεν δήπου καὶ κόθορ-

¹ Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* I, p. 701.

² A. A. Bryant, *Greek Shoes in the Classical Period*, in *Harv. Class. Stud.* X, pp. 83, 89.

νος ἐπικαλεῖται· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος ἀρμόττειν μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροισι δοκεῖ, ἀποβλέπει δὲ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων, and the reply of Theramenes, 2, 3, 46, ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορνόν με ὡς ἀμφοτέροις πειρώμενον ἀρμόττειν, the style of boot is easily perceived. The κόθορνος must have been a large, easy boot without 'lefts' or 'rights,' fitted to either foot, and so the nickname of the 'turncoat' Theramenes. Neither of these last two passages contradicts what was positively stated before, that the κόθορνος was strictly the women's shoe or boot.

Let us now turn to an investigation of the passages from Aristophanes which seem to support the notion of a tragic boot. As before stated, these passages are two in number; but a third is inseparably connected with them: Ar. *Ran.* 556-7,

οὐ μὲν οὖν με προσεδόκας,
ὅτιγ' κοθόρνους εἶχες, ἂν γινῶναί σ' ἔτι;

In these words we may have a suggestion both of their size, if they helped to disguise, and of their unfitness for such a man as Heracles. This is only a later incident in the story which begins with Ar. *Ran.* 47 (see p. 124). The argument which Crusius proposes on this passage is that κόθορνος was the shoe of Dionysus and became in time the tragic actor's shoe. Twice elsewhere, however, in Aristophanes we find it the natural shoe for a woman, in *Ecc.* 346 being carefully contrasted to the husband's ἐμβάς. It is reasonable, then, that we should expect Aristophanes to be consistent in his usage and that we should find something effeminate in the nature of the wearer of the κόθορνοι of the two above passages. And what else is Dionysus? More effeminate than most of the goddesses themselves! Crowned with leaves of the vine! Staggering along with the thyrsus in one hand and the cantharus in the other! A robe of saffron over his shoulders and "Persian shoes"—the product of the luxurious Orient from which he came—embracing his legs! Such, I think, must be the picture we have of Dionysus.¹ I admit that the κόθορνος was the shoe worn by Dionysus, but the reason it was ascribed to him is that it was in the first place the luxurious woman's

¹ Such a picture occurs on a red-figured vase in the Louvre, Millin, *Peintures de Vases Grecs*, I, 9. Cf. Pausan. 8, 31, 4; Lecuyer, *Terres Cuites*, II, pl. P⁵, Paris, 1885.

shoe. Just as *κροκωτός* was a woman's robe,¹ and therefore assumed by Dionysus, so the *κόθορνος*, the shoe of women, was assigned to him as becoming his effeminate character. Consequently, this passage only strengthens the theory that the *κόθορνος* was peculiarly the shoe for women.²

The evidence thus far adduced is wholly in support of this theory. The last passage, and the one on which all the argument for the tragic shoe is based, is *Ar. Av.* 994 (see p. 125); and while we find a man wearing the *κόθορνος* here, it is not a proper shoe for him, as the exclamation of Peithetairos discloses. The question naturally arises, why Meton, the geometrician, should be wearing the *κόθορνοι*. The answer of Crusius, "Ein Mann, der γεωμετρήσαι βούλεται τὸν αέρα, kann die tragischen Stelzen gut gebrauchen," is ingenious, but both biased and out of harmony with the meaning of the word in all other passages from classical literature. If there had never been in later times a high-soled tragic buskin, such an idea could never have been extracted from this passage. The answer would have been found in the meaning of the word elsewhere, "women's shoe," and this would be sufficient cause for the exclamation of Peithetairos. And why should Meton wear *κόθορνοι*? Either simply to raise a laugh because of the incongruity of the thing, or because effeminacy was the weakness in Meton's character at which Aristophanes here wished to strike.³ This weakness has never been brought out, so far as I know. Yet his actions in connection with the expedition to Sicily the year previous, his refusal to go on being drafted,

¹ *Ar. Thesm.* 138, 253, 945; *Eccl.* 879. Crusius (*l. c.*) calls it the garment of Dionysus, relying on the unconvincing scholium to *Ar. Ran.* 47, *κροκωτός*. Διονυσιακὸν φόρημα, against Kock who says (*Kom. d. Aristoph.* III⁴, p. 44, n. 46), "Der *κροκωτός* (vgl. K. Herm. *Gr. Privatalterth.* 22, 13) ist ein safranfarbiger Weiberrock (Lys. 44: *γυναικες κροκωτά φοροῦσαι*), dessen sich freilich auch verweichlichte Männer zuweilen bedienten, wie selbst bei den Römern Clodius, als er sich unter die das Fest der Bona Dea feiernden Frauen einschlich (Cic. *De harusp. resp.* 21, 44)."

² Terra-cottas show this shoe worn by women. *Griech. Terracotten aus Tanagra und Ephesos im Berl. Mus.*, pl. 29, Berlin, 1878. Kekulé, *Griech. Thonfiguren aus Tanagra*, plates, Stuttgart, 1878.

³ Robert, *Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm*, 22, 1898, p. 32. "Der Vers der Frösche 47 den Crusius unbegreiflicher Weise zum Beleg dafür anführt, dass *κόθορνος* im fünften Jahrhundert den hohen Theaterschuh bedeutet habe, beweist gerade das Gegentheil."

his pretended madness and attempt to burn down his house as proof of it, were surely evidences of unmanliness sufficient for a comic poet's jibes. His introduction here, then, in women's boots is not hard to understand.¹

An impartial study, then, of the word *κόθορος* and its use in literature of the classical period gives no authority for the interpretation, tragic boot, or buskin.² Nor are any of the other words so used which gained this meaning in later centuries. These words are *ἀρβύλη*, *ἐμβάς*, *ἐμβάτης*, *κρηπίς*, and *ὀκρίβας*.

ἀρβύλη. — Suidas (and he alone) seems to have taken this word to mean the tragic boot because of its common use in tragedy. For, of the four words for shoe used in tragedy, *κρούπαλον* occurs once,³ *εὐμαρίς* twice,⁴ *πέδιλον* three times,⁵ and *ἀρβύλη* ten times.⁶ This fact is further attested in that it is used by people of all ranks and in unlike situations: by Hera for dancing, Eur. *Her. Fur.* 1303-4,

χορευέτω δὴ Ζηνὸς ἡ κλεινὴ δάμαρ
κρούουσ' Ὀλύμπου δῖον ἀρβύλῃ πέδον,

by Agamemnon, returning from Troy, Aesch. *Ag.* 944-5,

ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦθ', ὑπαί τις ἀρβύλας
λύοι τάχος πρόδουλον ἔμβασιν ποδός,

by Pentheus within his palace, Eur. *Bacch.* 636-639 (cf. 1134),

ἦσυχος δ' ἐκβὰς ἐγὼ
δωμάτων ἦκω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, Πενθέως οὐ φροντίσας.
ὥς δέ μοι δοκεῖ, ψοφεῖ γοῦν ἀρβύλῃ δομῶν ἔσω,
εἰς προνώπι' ἀντίχ' ἤξει,

¹ This story is told by Plutarch twice (*Alc.* 17; *Nic.* 13), and by Aelian (*Var. Hist.* 13, 12).

² There is no possibility of this meaning left if we emend the line, as Blaydes and Van Leeuwen do.

³ Soph. *Frg.*, p. 140 (Nauck).

⁴ Aesch. *Pers.* 657; Eur. *Orest.* 1370.

⁵ Eur. *Elect.* 460; *Frg.*, pp. 529, 655 (Nauck).

⁶ Aesch. *Ag.* 944; *Frg.*, p. 83 (Nauck); Eur. *Bacch.* 638, 1134; *Elect.* 532; *Her. Fur.* 1304; *Hipp.* 1189; *Orest.* 140, 1470; *Frg.*, p. 529 (Nauck). It occurs once outside of tragedy, Hippocr. *De Artic.* 828 D.

and by a chorus of women, Eur. *Orest.* 140-1,

σίγα, σίγα, λεπτόν ἔχνος ἀρβύλης
τίθετε, μὴ κτυπέιτ'.

As a travelling boot it appears in Eur. *Orest.* 1470, and *Electra*, 532, and I should agree with Bryant¹ in interpreting Eur. *Hipp.* 1188-9,

μάρπτει δὲ χερσὶν ἡνίας ἀπ' ἄντυγος
αὐταῖσιν ἀρβύλαισιν ἀρμόσας πόδας

as meaning the straps or shoe-pieces into which the charioteer slipped his feet when he made ready for driving. What Aristotle understood by ἀρβύλη is seen from a fragment quoted by Macrobius, 5, 18, 20, τοὺς δὲ Θεστίου κόρους τὸν μὲν ἀριστερόν πόδα φησὶν Εὐριπίδης ἐλθεῖν ἔχοντας ἀνυπόδετον,

τὸ λαῖον ἔχνος ἦσαν ἀνάρβυλοι ποδὸς
τὸ δ' ἐν πεδίλοις, ὡς ἐλαφρίζον γόνυ
ἔχουεν,

ὡς δὴ πᾶν τοῦναντίον ἔθος τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀριστερόν ὑποδέδεται, τὸν δὲ δεξιὸν ἀνυποδετοῦσιν. His equivalent for ἀνάρβυλος is ἀνυπόδετος, showing that he considers ἀρβύλη the poetical word for ὑπόδημα. It is even further identified with πέδιλον, an every-day shoe of the sandal type.

From all these passages we gather that the ἀρβύλη was used by god, by hero, and by chorus for the various purposes of dancing, travelling, and indoor wear, and that it was also the name applied to a part of a chariot. Therefore it is the common general word used by tragedy for shoe. It is perhaps the poetical equivalent for ἐμβάς. Suidas, the sole authority for its meaning 'buskin,' must have been unable to distinguish between the tragic boot, as he understood it, and the name used by tragedy to designate shoes in general.

ἐμβάς. — This word together with its derivatives occurs twenty-six times in literature of the classical period,² of which number twenty-three

¹ A. A. Bryant, *Gk. Shoes in the Class. Period*, in *Harv. Class. Studies*, X, p. 75. With Dindorf, Scholiast, and Eustathius, ad *Il.* 5, 720, p. 599, 22, cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. d. Ant.*, s. v. *Arbulé*.

² Alexis, *Frg.* Kock, II, p. 309. Ar. *Eccl.* 47, 314, 342, 507, 633, 850; *Eq.* 321, 870, 872, 875; *Nub.* 719, 858; *Plut.* 759, 847, 941; *Vesp.* 103, 275, 447, 1157. Eubul. *Frg.* Kock, II, p. 175. Menand. *Frg.* Kock, III, p. 33. Theopomp. Com. *Frg.* Kock, I, p. 748. Hdt. I, 195. Isaeus, 5, 11.

are in comedy. The *ἐμβάς* is never worn by women except when they are disguised as men: e. g. Ar. *Eccl.* 46,

τὴν Σμικυθίωνος δ' οὐχ ὁρᾶς Μελιστίχην
σπεύδουσιν ἐν ταῖς ἐμβάσιν;

and is strongly contrasted to the women's *κόθορνος*, as has been shown (p. 126). *ἐμβάδες* were worn commonly by old men (*Vesp.* 1157 ff.), at dinners (Eubul. *Frg.* Kock, II, p. 175), in winter (Ar. *Vesp.* 445 ff.; cf. *Plut.* 847), and were a sign of poverty (Isaeus, 5, 11). Never have we any hint of their being used by tragic actors to increase their height. Whatever their shape, they must have been rough shoes for men.

ἐμβάτης. — This is the commonest name for the high-soled boot of tragedy in later literature. Extant literature of the classical period contains *ἐμβάτης* only once, and then without the slightest connection with the drama. Xen. *De re equestr.* 12, 10, *κνήμαι δὲ καὶ πόδες ὑπερέχουσιν μὲν ἂν εἰκότως τῶν παραμηριδίων, ὀπλισθείη δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, εἰ ἐμβάται γένοιτο σκύτους, ἐξ οἴουπερ αἱ κρηπίδες ποιοῦνται· οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἅμα ὅπλον τε κνήμαις καὶ ποσὶν ὑποδήματ' ἂν εἴη.* 'As the shins and feet would naturally project below the thigh-pieces, these, too, might be protected, if there were *ἐμβάται* of leather, the same material of which *κρηπίδες* are made. In this way, at one and the same time the shins would be protected and the feet shod with shoes.' Xenophon tells us plainly that the *ἐμβάτης* of his day was a leather boot covering the shins and so used by cavalrymen in place of greaves. Any assumption of tragic use must be pure theorizing based on evidence from the second century A.D.

κρηπίς. — We have *κρηπίς* used four times in the sense of shoe in fifth and fourth century literature.

1. Xen. *De re equestr.* 12, 10 (cited under *ἐμβάτης*) informs us only that the *κρηπίδες* were made of leather.

2. Plato Com., *Frg.* Kock, I, p. 612,

τίθημι κοττάβεια σφῶν ἐγὼ
τασδί τε τὰς κρηπίδας ἄς αὐτῇ φορεῖ,
καὶ τὸν κότυλον τὸν σόν.

Here we find a woman the wearer.

3. Hippocr. *De Artic.* 828 c, [χρῆ] ὑποδημάτιον δὲ ποιέεσθαι μολύβδιον ἔξωθεν τῆς ἐπιδέσιος ἐπιδεδεμένον, οἷον αἱ Χῖαι κρηπίδες ῥυθμὸν εἶχον. From this we learn that there were several styles, one of which was called the Chian.

4. Theophr. *Char.* 2, καὶ συνωνούμενος δὲ κρηπίδας, τὸν πόδα φῆσαι εἶναι εὐρυθμότερον τοῦ ὑποδήματος.

None of these passages gives us any definite conception of the κρηπίς, but its military use is as probable as any, especially as at the beginning of the third century we find Theocritus singing, *Id.* 15, 6,

παντᾷ κρηπίδες, παντᾷ χλαμυδηφόροι ἄνδρες.

But the common classical meaning of the word is 'foundation,' in which sense, only, Aeschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles use it. Therefore, the evidence seems to show that when used for the name of a shoe, κρηπίς, in literature of the classical period, whatever its more exact signification, did not mean tragic shoe.

ὀκρίβας. — The true meaning of this word is, and always has been, a puzzle. The various meanings which have been given to it are well summed up by Hesychius who, after giving the definitions ἐμβάτης and ὄχημα ἡνίοχου, proceeds, οἱ μὲν ὄνον φασίν, οἱ δὲ ἄγριον κριόν, ἄλλοι κλίμακα. κυρίως δὲ τὸ λογεῖον, ἐφ' οὗ οἱ τραγῳδοὶ ἡγωνίζοντο· τινὲς δὲ κιλίβας τρισκελῆς, ἐφ' οὗ ἴσταντο οἱ ὑποκριταὶ καὶ τὰ ἐκ μετεώρου λέγουσιν. The general drift of these words 'ass = easel,' 'ladder,' 'speaking-place,' 'three-legged stool,' tends towards the definition of a platform or stand of some light, temporary sort.

Our *locus classicus*, the only occurrence of the word in literature of this period, is the well-known, much-discussed passage from the *Symposium* of Plato, 194 B, Ἐπιλήσμων μὲντ' ἂν εἶην, ὦ Ἀγάθων, εἰπεῖν τὸν Σωκράτη, εἰ ἰδὼν τὴν σὴν ἀνδρείαν . . . ἀναβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὸν ὀκρίβαντα μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν καὶ βλέψαντος ἐναντία τοσοῦτῳ θεάτρῳ, μέλλοντος ἐπιδείξεσθαι σαυτοῦ λόγους, καὶ οὐδ' ὅπωςτιοῦν ἐκπλαγέντος, νῦν οἰηθεῖν σε θορυβηθήσεσθαι ἔνεκα ἡμῶν ὀλίγων ἀνθρώπων. The use of the word here in the singular prohibits the idea of mounting upon high-soled shoes. The lexicographers, as we shall find in considering the imperial and later periods of Greek history, entirely misunderstood this passage, and it is only gradually that the archaeologists of to-day have been arriving at some idea of its true meaning.

The passage refers to the Proagon,¹ during which the ἐπίδειξις of poet and actors took place,² probably in the Odeon, and the δακρύβας must be the βῆμα or some temporary stand erected that the poets and actors at the coming great festival might stand on it and be viewed by the crowds. Therefore, while the δακρύβας probably denotes some elevation, it cannot be the high-soled buskin.

None of the words which have been discussed applies to a high tragic boot of the classical period; nor yet do any of the other very numerous words for shoe or sandal occur in any connection to justify their interpretation as tragic high-soled boot.³ These need not be taken up, but there is one style of sandal distinguished from the rest by the addition of *Τυρρηνικά*, which deserves special mention.

σανδάλια Τυρρηνικά.—No ancient authority ever thought of these as tragic foot-gear; but Meineke, *Com. Graec.* II, Part I, p. 91, in his remarks on the fragment from Cratinus—*Σανδάλια Τυρρηνικά*—quoted by Pollux, 7, 86, makes Hesychius his authority for describing them as having *κάπτυμά τι ὑψηλόν*, or high sole, and so “*simillimi . . . cothurnis*.” Even if they had a marked resemblance to the *cothurnus*, these *σανδάλια* were not put to the same use, but were given to majestic figures like the Athena Parthenos. Poll. 7, 92, *σανδάλιον γὰρ ἦν, ὑπέδησε δ’ αὐτὸ Φειδίας τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν*.

Inasmuch as we have found no word in literature of the classical period for a high-soled tragic boot, we shall next take up the dramas themselves and see how far they support the view that the boot worn by tragic actors did not have an elevated sole.

THE DRAMAS

In the study of these it must be remembered that an ordinary shoe would present no impediment to the action, but that a boot with a sole from four to ten inches high would present great difficulties to intense action. Arnold (Baumeister's *Denkm.* III, pp. 1575–6) maintains that the dramatic action was limited to motions of the head, arms, fingers,

¹ Rohde, *Rhein. Mus.* XXXVIII, p. 251 ff.

² Cf. *Vita Eur.* p. 3, 11 (Schwartz).

³ A full treatment of these other words may be found in the article by A. A. Bryant on *Greek Shoes in the Classical Period*, *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.* X, p. 57 ff., to which I am greatly indebted for help in the preceding pages of this article.

and the swaying of the body; but Bethe (*Proleg. z. Gesch. d. Theat.*, p. 324) with greater justice, in my opinion, cites the Parodos of the *Seven Against Thebes* and scenes from the *Suppliants* of Aeschylus as places where intense feeling had free play, while he mentions the close of the *Choephoroi* and the earlier part of the *Eumenides* as scenes demanding intense, lively action. I must part company with Bethe, however, when, assuming the use of the high-soled buskin as unquestionable, he tries to reconcile the violent action of the dramas with the difficulties presented by such foot-gear. He speaks of the activity shown in the use of similar shoes by the Venetian women of to-day, on which they walk easily, kneel, and rise without trouble. Even though these are not so high as the shoes he thinks the actors wore, nevertheless he believes the same agility was possible on the high soles of the Greeks, because the action is required by the dramas.

While this may hold true for soles of three inches and under, it hardly seems possible with the ten-inch sole which modern authorities give to tragedy in the classical period. For tragedy is full of situations demanding violent action. Besides the more general scenes we have running entrances of characters in every rôle; actors climb steps or ladders, fall and rise readily, creep on the ground, lie upon it for long periods at a time, kneel in supplication, and even remove their shoes. We now take these up more in detail.

General Scenes.—Besides the scenes from the *Septem*, the *Suppliants*, the *Choephoroi*, and the *Eumenides* already mentioned, we find many scenes, particularly in Euripides, where the words of the dramas themselves explain the stage business and require intense action. Twice in the *Prometheus Bound* of Aeschylus we are told of the leavings of Io, which, if not literally carried out, must have been indicated by some violent action, as is suggested by v. 599 ff.,

σκιρτημάτων δὲ νήστισιν αἰκίαις
λαβρόντος ἦλθον,

and she rushes out with the cry, 882–886,

τροχοδινεῖται δ' ὀμμαθ' ἐλίγδην,
ἔξω δὲ δρόμου φέρομαι λύσσης
πνεύματι μάργω, γλώσσης ἄκρατῆς·
θολεροὶ δὲ λόγοι παίλουσ' εἰκῇ
στυγνῆς ποδὲς κύμασιν ἄτης.

Violent scenes in Euripides are numerous. Orestes describes his own actions, *Eur. Or.* 278,

ποῖ ποῖ ποθ' ἡλάμεσθα δεμνίων ἄπο;

The two old men, Cadmus and Teiresias, act in most undignified fashion in *Bacchae*, 184-5,

ποῖ δέι χορεύειν, ποῖ καθιστάναι πόδα
καὶ κρᾶτα σείσαι πολίον;

cf. 190, 195 ff., also the words of Pentheus, 248-251,

ἀτὰρ τόδ' ἄλλο θαῦμα, τὸν τερασκόπον
ἐν ποικίλαισι νεβρίσι Τειρεσίαν ὄρῳ
πατέρα τε μητρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς, πολλὴν γέλων,
νάρθηκι βακχεύοντ'.

and the reply of Teiresias refusing to stop his dance in honor of Dionysus, 322-324,

ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ Κάδμος, ὃν σὺ διαγελᾷς,
κισσῷ τ' ἐρεψόμεθα καὶ χορεύσομεν,
πολιὰ ξυνωρίς, ἀλλ' ὅμως χορευτέον.

Helen rushes to the altar pursued by Menelaus and throws herself upon it, as we see from *Hel.* 546-556; and there are a number of other scenes — *Heracl.* 69-79, cf. 128; *Hec.* 1056-1059; *Or.* 211-235 and 1554 ff.; *Phoen.* 315-16; *I. A.* 314-320, 631, and *Ion*, 1250 ff. — in which activity of motion is spoken of. No one, I think, would expect Euadne to wear high-soled boots when she leaps into the funeral pyre, *Suppl.* 1069-1071.

Hurried Entrances. 1. *Of Messengers.* — Running is demanded in the stage action by the words of the chorus, Aesch. *Pers.* 246-248,

ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τάχ' εἶσθι πάντα ναμερτῇ λόγον.
τοῦδε γὰρ δράμημα φωτὸς Περσικὸν πρέπει μαθεῖν,
καὶ φέρεῖ σαφές τι πρᾶγος ἐσθλὸν ἢ κακὸν κλύειν,

and messengers enter in haste (σπουδῇ), if not running, Aesch. *Sept.* 39 (cf. 54), 371; *Eur. Hipp.* 1151-2; *Ion*, 1109-10; *Med.* 1118-1120; *Tro.* 232. Cf. also the parody in *Ar. Av.* 1121 ff.

2. *Of Heroic Characters*.—Running was not confined to the lesser rôles. Heroes, too, enter on the run. Eur. *Or.* 725-6,

ἀλλ' εἰσορῶ γὰρ τόνδε φίλτατον βροτῶν
Πυλάδην δρόμῳ στείχοντα Φωκέων ἄπο,

Eur. *Tro.* 306-7,

οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐ πιμπρᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ παῖς ἐμῇ
μαινὰς θοάξει δεῦρο Κασάνδρα δρόμῳ.

Entrances at great speed (ἀρτίπους) are made according to Soph. *El.* 871-2 (cf. 934-5); *Oed. Col.* 885-890; *Trach.* 58 ff. Eur. *Bacch.* 1230 (cf. 1168); *Or.* 1505, 1550; and in great haste (σπουδῇ) according to Aesch. *Sept.* 374. Soph. *Ai.* 1223-4; *Phil.* 1223. Eur. *Andr.* 545-6, 824-840, 880; *Bacch.* 212, 642 (cf. 647); *Hec.* 216-17; *Heracl.* 118; *Hipp.* 902-3; *Ion.* 1253; *Rhes.* 85.

Climbing Scenes.—Twice heroic characters climb steps. Although the actual process is not described, we know that Danaus has climbed up the steps of the great altar from his words, Aesch. *Suppl.* 713-14,

ἵκεταδόκου γὰρ τῇσδ' ἀπὸ σκοπῆς ὁρῶ
τὸ πλοῖον. εὔσημον γὰρ οὗ με λανθάνει.

And another scene from the *Phoenissae* of Euripides, 103-106, shows us an old pedagogue helping Antigone up a ladder or flight of steps to the top of her house,

AN. ὄρεγέ νυν ὄρεγε γεραιὰν νέα
χεῖρ', ἀπὸ κλιμάκων ποδὸς
ἴχνος ἐπαντέλλων.

ΠΑΙ. ἰδοὺ ξύναψον, παρθέν'· εἰς καιρὸν δ' ἔβης.

It is hard to imagine these scenes being carried out with the actors raised upon soles five to ten inches high.

Falling and Rising Scenes.—The most violent fall is taken by Iolaus in Eur. *Heracl.* 75-79,

IO. ἴδετε τὸν γέροντ' ἀμαλὸν ἐπὶ πέδῳ
χύμενον· ὦ τάλας.

XO. πρὸς τοῦ ποτ' ἐν γῇ πτώμα δύστηνον πίτνεις;

IO. ὄδ', ὦ ξένοι, με σοὺς ἀτιμάζων θεοὺς
ἔλκει βιαίως Ζηνὸς ἐκ προβωμίων.

And we are told that his legs had been knocked from under him in the words of the chorus, 127 ff.,

βία νιν οὔτος τῆσδ' ἀπ' ἐσχάρας ἄγειν
ζητῶν βοήν ἔστησε κᾶσφηλεν γόνυ
γέροντος, ὥστε μ' ἐκβαλεῖν οἴκῳ δάκρυ.

He falls again when Macaria goes off, but this time from faintness not from violence, v. 602. He is bidden to rise by a servant in 635 and evidently raises himself up. Similar scenes, where the actors swoon upon hearing bad news, are to be found in Eur. *Andr.* 1076-1078; *Hec.* 438-502; *Tro.* 462-465; and Philoctetes, 820-893, is put to sleep by the pain from his poisoned foot. Having once fallen the persons are all obliged to rise again, and they invariably do it unassisted when addressed by the words ἔπαιρε σαντὸν. The falling would be easy enough, but rising upon pedestals of leather or wood, such as the high soles must have been, would have been extremely awkward.

Lying Scenes.—Many of the scenes included under the preceding heading involve lying on the ground for some time (e.g. Soph. *Phil.* 820-879), but two of the plays of Euripides begin with actors lying prostrate on the ground. It is Adrastus who lies with his head hid in his mantle in *Suppl.* 1-112, and we are first made aware of this by the words of Aethra, 20-22,

κοινὸν δὲ φόρτον ταῖσδ' ἔχων χρεῖας ἐμῆς
*Αδραστος ὄμμα δάκρυσιν τέγγων ὅδε
κείται.

He continues in this posture until v. 112 when the words of Theseus compel him to stand up. The *Troades* opens with Hecabe lying before the palace. She remains prostrate for 120 verses. Then she, too, rises. It is not necessary to suppose that the high soles could be seen by the spectators while the actors were lying on the stage, but, if they were visible, as is very possible, they must have made a ridiculous sight. At a much later date we find Lucian (*Somn.* 26) ridiculing the momentary exposure of such a boot. Another similar scene occurs towards the end of *Hercules Furens*, vv. 1159-1402, in which Heracles seats himself on the ground with his mantle over his head mourning for the murders he has committed. He as well as the others rises from this position, thereby showing that it was a comparatively easy thing to rise from any position

with the shoes that were worn. It is difficult to conceive of this with high soles, ten inches high.

Creeping Scenes.— Furthermore, two characters creep about before the spectators: the aged priestess, Aesch. *Eum.* 34 ff.,

ἦ δεινὰ λέξαι, δεινὰ δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς δρακεῖν
 πάλιν μ' ἔπεμψεν ἐκ δόμων τῶν Λοξίου,
 ὥς μήτε σωκεῖν μήτε μ' ἀκταίνειν βάσιν·
 τρέχω δὲ χερσίν, οὐ ποδωκεία σκελῶν·
 δείσασα γὰρ γραῦς οὐδέν, ἀντίπαις μὲν οὖν,

and Polymestor, Eur. *Hec.* 1056–1059,

ὦμοι ἐγώ, πᾶ βῶ,
 πᾶ στῶ, πᾶ κέλσω;
 τετράποδος βάσιν θηρὸς ὀρεστέρου
 τιθέμενος ἐπὶ χεῖρα κατ' ἵχνος;

In these any high-soled buskin worn must have been in full sight of the audience—a strange thing to believe of the Greek drama. Thus, another difficult posture is presented to us from which apparently the actors raised themselves to their feet without trouble.

Scenes of Supplication.— Perhaps the most difficult feat of all to accomplish with a ten-inch sole would be the act of supplication, in which one actor sank upon his knee and stroked the chin and grasped the knee of another. Not to speak of the height to which the chin of the latter would be raised by high-soled buskins, the mere act of kneeling on the ground with one foot on a leather pedestal of five to ten inches must have been in the highest degree uncomfortable and at the same time awkward to look at. And yet actors assumed this position many times.

Soph. *Phil.* 485–6 (Philoctetes to Neoptolemus),

πίσθητι· προσπίτνω σε γόνασι, καίπερ ὦν
 ἀκράτωρ ὁ τλήμων, χωλός.

Eur. *Andr.* 572–575, cf. 717 ff. (Andromache to Peleus),

ἀλλ' ἀντιάζω σ', ὦ γέρον, τῶν σῶν πάρος
 πίτνουσα γονάτων, χειρὶ δ' οὐκ ἔξεστί μοι
 τῆς σῆς λαβέσθαι φιλτάτης γενειάδος,
 ῥῦσαί με πρὸς θεῶν.

Ibid. 892-895 (Hermione to Orestes),

Ἀγαμέμνωνος παῖ, πρὸς σε τῶνδε γονάτων
οἴκτιρον ἡμᾶς ὧν ἐπισκοπεῖς τύχας,
πράσσοντας οὐκ εὔ. στεμμάτων δ' οὐκ ἥσσονας
σοῖς προστίθῃμι γόνασιν ὠλένας ἐμάς.

Hipp. 325-6, cf. 333 (Nurse to Phaedra),

ΦΑΙ. τί δρᾶς; βιάζει χειρὸς ξαρτωμένη;
ΤΡ. καὶ σὼν γε γονάτων, κοῦ μεθήσομαί ποτε.

Other instances abound: Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1754. Eur. *Hec.* 275 (cf. 273, 286), 339 (cf. 344), 752-3 (cf. 787, 812); *Hel.* 894, 1236-7; *Her. Fur.* 1208; *Hipp.* 605-607; *I. A.* 900 ff. (cf. 908-910), 1215-1217; *Med.* 324, 709-10; *Or.* 382, 1507; *Phoen.* 923; *Suppl.* 165; *Tro.* 1042.

Hurried Exits.—We have seen that actors of the chief as well as of the less important rôles enter in great haste, and, during the scene, dance, run about, fall, creep, and rise, all in the most natural way. Now we shall see that in making their exits they must often have shown speed and violent action. Such must have been true of Jocasta if she acted as the words of the chorus, Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 1073-4, lead us to imagine,

τί ποτε βέβηκεν, Οιδίπους, ὑπ' ἀγρίας
ᾄξασα λύπης ἡ γυνή;

Nor can we believe in a quiet exit of Orestes in Aesch. *Choeph.* 1061-2. The text gives us no cues on this point, but his own words show the pitch to which his feelings have risen. The Dread Goddesses are all about him to his fevered imagination. He is unable to escape them, and bursts off the scene with the cry, 1061-2,

ὕμεις μὲν οὐχ ὁρᾶτε τάσδ', ἐγὼ δ' ὁρῶ·
ἐλαύνομαι δὲ κοῦκέτ' ἂν μείναιμ' ἐγώ.

In other plays, likewise, the words with which the characters leave the scene betray violent emotions and leave little doubt of intense action in the exit. Such are Eur. *Elect.* 216 ff.; *Hipp.* 599-600; *Phoen.* 1280 ff. In fact, it is impossible to escape the conviction that the Greek drama carried out in action the emotions expressed so often in words, un-

hampered by any such hindrances as high-soled boots. And not only is the action in general violent, but many situations arise when the use of a lofty sole is really precluded. The words of Bethe (*Proleg. z. Gesch. d. Theat.*, p. 321) that the actors "richten sich sogar allein ohne Hilfe auf," are borne out by the facts. Adrastus rises unaided after lying before the temple during the recital of over a hundred verses. Hecabe does the same after an equal length of time. So, too, does Iolaus. We have, then, these instances of prominent characters rising to their feet unaided, a thing to be expected with an ordinary shoe, but difficult to imagine if we picture them rising upon a ten-inch pedestal of leather or wood.

There remains to be discussed a very important passage, Aesch. *Ag.* 944-5,

ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦθ', ὑπαί τις ἀρβύλας
λύοι τάχος, πρόδουλον ξμβασιν ποδός.

Professor Carl Robert (*Hall. Winckelmannspr.* 22, p. 23) was the first person to appreciate the significance of this passage. Agamemnon has just come home from the Trojan war. His base and deceitful wife, Clytemestra, wishes him to make a triumphal entry over a carpet of purple. And he, finally persuaded, says, 'Well, if so it pleaseth thee, let some one quickly undo my shoes, servants to my feet in walking.' The act of taking off the shoes is accomplished between lines 945 and 955. The poet with the greatest art has allowed for that time by introducing the subject of the 'jealousy of the gods,' and by directions for the welfare of his favorite captive, Cassandra. Then, finally, in 956 he turns to enter the palace with the words,

ἐπεὶ δ' ἀκούειν σοῦ κατέστραμμαι τάδε,
εἴμ' ἐς δόμων μέλαθρα πορφύρας πατῶν.

Robert brought out the fact that, if Agamemnon had been wearing high-soled boots, their removal would have left him ridiculously shorter than Clytemestra, and that so gross an offence against good taste could not have been permitted.

To me this argument seems perfectly valid. Agamemnon gives directions for the removal of his travelling shoes, waits while it is being done, then enters the door near which he is standing. If it is granted that his shoes were removed, we cannot escape the conclusion that they

were ordinary, not high-soled, shoes; for, otherwise, not only would he be ridiculously cut off in stature, but his long chiton (χιτὼν ποδήρης), too long now by a number of inches, would trip him or have to be gathered up in most untragic manner.

But some will not be willing to grant that the shoes were taken off. Robert, himself, having become convinced from a little painting found in Herculaneum of the use of an eight or ten-inch sole in the fifth century, took back his earlier assertion and formulated the hypothesis that there was here only a show of taking off the shoes, and that they were kept on in reality. This hypothesis is not the natural one; it is rather the result of prejudgment of the point at issue. To one not concerned about the tragic boot the lines would certainly mean that the shoes came off; and if they came off, they could not have been high-soled.

Our evidence from the drama, therefore, proves that the actors were quick on their feet and easily assumed all manner of difficult postures. They enter and leave in haste, sometimes on the run, they dance and leap, creep on hands and knees, kneel in supplication, and rise to their feet unaided. So much our evidence tells us. It is, therefore, opposed to the use of any boot with a high sole. But it is not conclusive evidence and can be valuable only as it corroborates our evidence from other sources.

EVIDENCE FROM CONTEMPORARY ART

Perhaps the most convincing proof that tragic actors did not wear high-soled shoes is the fact that such shoes are not to be found in any of the monuments of the period and are notably lacking in the one piece of sculpture which renders most faithfully the dress of a tragic actor of this period. This is the Piraeus Relief.¹

Piraeus Relief.— This was erected as a choregic monument in the Piraeus at the close of the fifth century or the beginning of the fourth.² It stood for a long time a striking example of sculpture of the later Pheidian school. At a subsequent date another hand, unwilling that the figures on it should be nameless, scratched two names (perhaps more)

¹ Published by Robert, *Ath. Mitt.* VII, pl. XIV, p. 389.

² So dated by Robert, *l. c.*, p. 392; and by Friedrichs-Wolters, *Die Gipsabgüsse Antiker Bildwerke*, No. 1135, Berlin, 1885.

on the base — one, ΔΙΟΝΥΞΟΞ, the other, almost obliterated, probably ΠΑΡΑΛΙΑ.¹ In the troublous times that followed it was overturned and found a resting place in the harbor. It was recovered in our own times, little damaged by its long stay beneath the waves, and was brought to its present home in the Museum of the Piraeus. The Berlin Museum possesses a cast (No. 1135).

In conception the relief is closely analogous to the commonly depicted "Death-Feasts,"² though used here for a choregic votive offering. At the right, on a couch, reclines a young man, who holds upraised in his right hand a drinking-horn and in his left, close by his side, a shallow bowl. At his feet sits a maiden, who wears the nebris in addition to her chiton.³ The left-hand half of the relief is taken up by the standing figures of three young men, who are readily identified as actors by their costumes and the masks which two of them carry. Two, also, carry mirrors.⁴ Evidently, the scene is one of preparation for the play. The actor who has no mask must have been represented with it already on. His head has been badly mutilated, but the position of the mirror, which he is holding up in his left hand, puts it beyond a doubt that he was represented taking a final look at the way his mask set. The other two are not so nearly ready and have the masks still in their hands.

As Agamemnon, last of all, before seizing his spears (*Il.* 11, 41),

κρατὶ δ' ἐπ' ἀμφίφαλον κυνέην θέτο τετραφάλῃρον
ἵππουριν· δεινὸν δὲ λόφος καθύπερθευ ἔνευεν,

so, I feel certain, the actors put on their masks last of all. In dressing, anything that is going to embarrass our heads we leave to the end. It would be both unnatural and inconvenient for an actor to put on his

¹ Robert, *l. c.*, p. 391, reads ΠΑΙΔΗΑ, but Schuchhardt, *Ath. Mit.* XIII, p. 221, finds on the stone Γ Ρ / ΛΙΑ = ΠΑΡΑΛΙΑ.

² Furtwängler, *Collection Sabouroff*, I, pls. 30-33, Berlin, 1883-1887.

³ For attempts at identifying these two figures see Robert and Friedrichs-Wolters, *l. c.*; also Robert, *Scenisches, Hermes*, XXII, p. 336; and finally Schuchhardt, *Paralia, Ath. Mitt.* XIII, p. 221 ff.

⁴ These were first regarded by Robert, and, following him, Friedrichs as tambourines (tympana), but were finally identified by Robert, *Scenisches, Hermes*, XXII, 336, as mirrors, by which the actors are adjusting their masks.

mask before he had properly adjusted his chiton and drawn on his shoes. Therefore, since one actor undoubtedly has his mask on and the other two have theirs in their hands and the mirrors with which to adjust them, we may feel certain that in this relief we see the actors as they were just before appearing in the orchestra for the performance.

Nothing seems lacking in the costume. The long chiton (χιτὼν ποδήρης) is the same as that which persisted in tragedy down through imperial times. The broad girdle confines it high up on the waist. Close-fitting sleeves reach to the wrist and closed shoes cover their feet. But how different these shoes are from the high-soled buskin modern authorities would attribute to this period! They are only partially concealed and we can easily tell their type. They are closed boots, but *without any elevation*. As I have shown above, this is almost the last minute before the actors enter the orchestra. Therefore, if they had been accustomed to use high-soled boots, they would have been on by this time. But not only are the high-soled shoes missing, they are even replaced by other shoes with soles of ordinary thickness.

The evidence to be derived from this relief is of the most positive nature. The style is such that the date is indisputable; the costumes of the three figures are so complete that their identity as actors is fixed; finally, they have their stage-shoes already on and these are *not elevated*.

In the light of the knowledge derived from the Piræus relief, we may consider another monument of this period, an amphora in the Museum of Naples, which has acquired from the paintings upon it the name Satyr-Vase. It is one of the two earliest pieces of evidence extant for the costume of tragedy, the other being a crater, in the Berlin Museum, decorated with the scene of Andromeda's rescue from the sea-monster by Perseus.

*Satyr-Vase*¹ and *Andromeda Crater*.²—The usefulness of the satyr-vase as evidence is made plain by comparing the costumes shown upon it with the costumes upon the crater, where a purely tragic scene is

¹ Published, *Mon. Ined.* III, 31; Baumeister's *Denkm.*, pl. V; Schreiber, *Culturhist. Bilderatlas*, pl. 3; Wieseler, *Theatergebäude und Denkmäler des Bühnenspiels*, pl. VI, 2, Göttingen, 1851.

² Published, *Jahrb.*, 1896, p. 292 and pl. 2; Englemann, *Archaeol. Studien z. d. Tragikern*, fig. 20, Berlin, 1900.

represented. By such a comparison Bethe¹ proves that the costume of the chief actors of a satyr play was identical with the costume worn by actors of tragedy. Like costume bespeaks a like origin, and we find Aristotle saying of tragedy, *Poetics*, 1449 a, 20, διὰ τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν.

If Bethe's proof holds, we can look to the Satyr-Vase for evidence on the shoes of the actors as well as the rest of the costume. The painter of the crater has taken advantage of his liberties and has represented Andromeda with bare feet. The actors on the Satyr-Vase, however, wear closed shoes without any high sole. As Müller,² Navarre,³ and Haigh⁴ say, the high sole may be left off for the sake of activity, to which the shorter chitons might point; but Bethe argues that it was left out for artistic reasons, or because it was put on just before entering the scene.⁵ Vase-painting does take such liberties with the facts that we cannot lay much stress on evidence derived from it. Where it corroborates other trustworthy evidence, however, there it is valuable. The Satyr-Vase makes more certain the results obtained from a study of the Piraeus relief.

Furthermore, a careful search through the whole range of sculpture, vase-paintings, and terra-cotta figurines fails to reveal anything in the nature of a high-soled shoe. The grave-reliefs⁶ often show very thick sandals; such seem to have been common foot-wear. But none can exceed a height of two inches and none have any connection with tragedy. Not even the South Italian vases, which often have very faithful reproductions of scenes from tragedy, show high-soled buskins.⁷ But, as most of the scenes are treated more as living stories than as stage representations, we cannot lay much emphasis on this fact. A striking contrast to later times when the use of the high sole is a certain fact is to be remarked in the absence of this part of the dress as a

¹ *Jahrb.*, 1896, p. 292 ff. Cf. Arnold in Baumeister's *Denkm.* III, 1568-1571. Also Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. d. Ant. s. v. Cothurnus*. Cf. *Hor. Sat.* I, 5, 64.

² *Lehrb. d. griech. Bühnenalt.*, p. 242, Freiburg i. B., 1886.

³ *Dionysos*, p. 185, Paris, 1895.

⁴ *The Attic Theatre*², p. 287, Oxford, 1898.

⁵ *Proleg. z. Gesch. d. Theat.*, p. 37, note 13.

⁶ Conze, *Attische Grabreliefs*, plates, Berlin, 1893-1904.

⁷ Englemann, *Archaeol. Studien z. d. Tragikern*. Huddilston, *Greek Tragedy in the Light of Vase Paintings*, London, 1898.

symbol of tragedy. Whereas in the Imperial period we find the mask and the buskin together the symbols of tragedy, in this period the mask stands alone. Therefore, we find art joining with literature and denying emphatically for this period the existence of a high-soled tragic shoe.

Our study of the evidence on the use of the high-soled buskin cannot be confined to the classical period alone, for almost all the evidence in favor of the use is obtained from later literature and art. These must be examined and their bearing on the use of the high-soled boot in the classical period ascertained. While this article does not attempt to settle the time when the high-soled shoe was introduced into tragedy, the argument against the classic use of the high-soled boot may be materially strengthened by showing that such a boot was not used for two centuries after the classical period, or, in other words, was not used during the Hellenistic period.

EVIDENCE FROM HELLENISTIC LITERATURE

Dierks¹ discovers evidence for the use of the boot in this period in the description of the festival procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus, given by Callixenus and quoted by Athenaeus, 5, 198 a. We find that the procession was made up of fantastic personages representing the various chief divinities, each god in turn having a little company of his own followers to represent different features of his worship. In this manner Dionysus was accompanied by Sileni, Satyrs, Winged Victories, boys clad in purple, and others. Then we read (198 a), μεθ' οὓς Σιληνοὶ δύο ἐν πορφυραῖς χλαμύσι καὶ κρηπίσι λευκαῖς. εἶχε δ' αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν πέτασον καὶ κηρύκειον χρυσοῦν, ὁ δὲ σάλπιγγα. μέσος δὲ τούτων ἐβάδιζεν ἀνὴρ μείζων, τετράπηχυς, ἐν τραγικῇ διαθέσει καὶ προσώπῳ, φέρων χρυσοῦν Ἀμαλθείας κέρας· ὃς προσηγορέετο Ἐνιαυτός. 'Between the two Sileni walked the *Year*, taller than they, a six-footer, in tragic make-up and wearing a mask.' Dierks argues, "Si ad talem magnitudinem corporis respicimus, summa veritatis specie conicere licet illum cothurnos peraltos gestasse." He takes exception to Maass² who wishes to explain this passage by some other means than the *cothurnus*, quoting Apollodorus 2, 4, 9, ἦν δὲ (Heracles) καὶ θεωρηθεὶς φοβερός

¹ *De Trag. Graec. Hab. Scaen.*, p. 10.

² *Annali d. Instit.*, 1881, p. 115, note 1.

ὅτι παῖς Διὸς ἦν. τετραπηχναῖον μὲν εἶχε τὸ σῶμα. "Sed fieri non potest," continues Dierks, "ut hi loci inter se comparentur. Nam Apoll. de Herculis magnitudine loquitur, quomodo in cultu ficta sit, Callix. vero de histrione quodam. Ratio autem inter illos locos haec est: Graeci quia heroes ingenti corporis magnitudine fuisse existimabant, histriones cum cothurnis prodeuntes fecerunt, ut speciei illorum adaequarentur. Quam fuisse causam usus cothurnorum, expressis verbis indicatur a Philostr. (*Vita Apoll.* VI, 11) ὁκρίβαντος δὲ τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς ἀνεβίβασεν ὡς ἴσα ἐκείνους (ἥρωσι) βαίνοινεν."

The firmly rooted conviction that high-soled boots were part of the τραγικὴ διάθεσις of this period leads Dierks into the error of forgetting that there were many men in those days, as in the present, who needed no elevated shoes to make them six-footers. Such men were noticed then as now.¹ To carry the horn of Amalthea such a man might well have been picked, a man conspicuous for his height. We may feel that a grander spectacle would have been secured by mounting him and the gods as well on high-soled boots; but, so far as we know, that was not done here. And, even if it could be proved for this procession, it would not be convincing evidence for the usage of the drama. Because fantastic personages appear in our processions ten feet tall, it is no proof that they would appear thus represented on the stage.

Furthermore, those of the later words for high-soled tragic boot which have been preserved to us in the scanty literature of this period show no evidence of having yet been perverted from their classical meaning; ἀρβύλη is still the poetical word for shoe. Theocritus, *Id.* 7, 26,

πᾶσα λίθος πταίουσά ποτ' ἀρβυλίδεσσιν αἰεῖδει.

Lycophron, *Alex.* 837-839,

ἀντὶ θηλείας δ' ἔβη
τὸν χρυσόπατρον μόρφον ἀρπάσας γνάθοις,
τὸν ἡπατουργὸν ἄρσεν' ἀρβυλόπτερον.

And κόθορνος again occurs with κροκωτός (if the fragment be correctly restored) as a woman's boot covering the shins. Herodas, *Mimiamb.* 8, 69,

. . . . ἀμφίκν[ημας] . . .
. . . . κο]θόρνου[ς]

¹ Cf. Ar. *Ran.* 1014; *Vesp.* 553.

-κροκωτ- occurring six lines before. The κρηπίς is worn by soldiers, Theocr. *Id.* 15, 6 (see p. 133), and by Sileni in a festival procession, Callixenus ap. Athen. 5, 198 a (see p. 146). This can be no tragic high-soled boot. The κρηπίδες are mentioned here because of their unusual color, white, as are the chlamydes because they are purple.

Nor do any of the side-lights on the drama of this period favor the use of a high-soled shoe. Just as prize-fighters of the present day take to the stage to exhibit their skill, so we can believe the professional boxers of Greece did. For such a man set up a dedicatory inscription in this period to commemorate his many victories in the revived plays of Euripides.¹ As was to be expected, we find the titles of the plays in which he performed to have been those of the most violent plays of Euripides, those demanding a great show of excitement and liveliness. Are we to suppose that he wore high-soled boots and so hindered, if not absolutely prohibiting, a display of his superior muscle?

Thus the Hellenistic period seems not to have made use of the high-soled buskin any more than the classical period. This we shall find corroborated by later copies of art of this period. None of the actual remains of the art of this period have any bearing on the question of the high-soled tragic shoe.

Thus far we have examined literature and art down to the year 150 B.C. and have found no trace of such a boot in art, no name for it, no mention of it in literature. But in art shortly after this we find the high-soled shoe and in literature of the next century we find it mentioned. What evidence for the classic use of the shoe does this later literature give us?

EVIDENCE FROM LITERATURE OF THE IMPERIAL AND LATER PERIODS

The high-soled boot of these times was called by six different names, as I have said before (p. 130). These I shall take up in alphabetical order.

ἀρβύλη. — Suidas attributes to Aeschylus the introduction of ἀρβύλαι as part of the costume of tragedy and translates by the better known term ἐμβάται, s. v. Αἰσχύλος· οὗτος πρῶτος εὗρε προσωπεῖα δεινὰ καὶ χρώμασι κεχρισμένα ἔχειν τοὺς τραγικούς, καὶ ταῖς ἀρβύλαις τοῖς καλου-

¹ Herzog, *Ein Athlet als Schauspieler*, *Philol.* LX, p. 440 ff.

μένους ἐμβάταις κεκρήσθαι. Because of its frequent use in the dramas Suidas must have committed the error of considering it the technical word in classical times for the ἐμβάται of his own time. For never again is it found with this signification, but it is found with other definite meanings: Poll. 7, 86, ἣν δέ τι ὑπόδημα καὶ ἀρβύλη, εὐτελὲς τὴν ἐργασίαν. Photius, *Biblioth.* (Bekker), p. 2 b, 18, [ἀνεγνώθη] ὅτι τὰ σανδάλια, φησί, νυνὶ λεγόμενα ἀρβύλας ἔλεγον οἱ παλαιοί. Hesychius, s. v. ἀρβύλαι. εἶδος ὑποδημάτων. *Etym. Magn.* s. v. ἀρβύλη· παρὰ τὸ ἀρμόζεσθαι τοῖς ποσὶν, ἀρμύλη, καὶ ἀρβύλη. Ἔστιν δὲ εἶδος ὑποδήματος περισσῶς ἐργασμένον. *Anthol. Pal.* 16, 306-308, in three different epigrams describes the same statue of Anacreon wearing ἀρβυλίδες, βλαύτια, σάνδαλα. By this array of authorities who would undoubtedly have mentioned the tragic use of the ἀρβύλη, if there had been one, the statement of Suidas is discredited, and we may be permitted to conclude that ἀρβύλη was never the name for the high-soled tragic boot.

ἐμβάς and ἐμβάτης. — The similarity in spelling of these two words has caused endless confusion and contradiction among the writers of late Greek literature. The weight of the evidence, however, seems to fall to ἐμβάτης as the proper name for the high-soled tragic boot. The ἐμβάς is so called by Epictetus, ap. Arrian, *Diatrib. Epictet.* 1, 29, 41-43, ἔσται χρόνος τάχα, ἐν ᾧ οἱ τραγωδοὶ οἰήσονται ἑαυτοὺς εἶναι προσωπεῖα καὶ ἐμβάδας καὶ τὸ σύρμα. . . . ἂν ἀφέλῃ τις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐμβάδας καὶ τὸ προσωπεῖον καὶ ἐν εἰδώλῳ αὐτὸν προσαγάγῃ, ἀπώλετο ὁ τραγῳδὸς ἣ μένει; ἂν φωνὴν ἔχῃ, μένει· by Lucian, *Scmn.* 26 (according to Reitz), καὶ τῶν ἐμβάδων τὴν ὑπόδεσιν ἀμορφοτάτην καὶ οὐ κατὰ λόγον τοῦ ποδός, where the author is exposing to ridicule the fictions of an actor's make up; by Pollux, 4, 115, καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα κόθορνοι μὲν τὰ τραγικά καὶ ἐμβάδες, ἐμβάται δὲ τὰ κωμικά, and 7, 85, ἐμβάδες· εὐτελὲς μὲν τὸ ὑπόδημα, Θράκιον δὲ τὸ εὖρημα, τὴν δὲ ἰδέαν κοθόρνοις ταπεινοῖς ἔοικεν· in the *Anth. Pal.* 7, 51,

σὸν δ' οὐ τοῦτον ἐγὼ τίθεμαι τάφον, ἀλλὰ τὰ Βακχον
βήματα καὶ σκηνὰς ἐμβάδι πειθομένας.

But the reading here is corrupt; in Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, II, p. 746, 18, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπελέγοντο ἄνδρας τοὺς μείζονα φωνὴν ἔχοντας, δεύτερον δὲ βουλόμενοι καὶ τὰ σώματα δεικνύειν ἡρωϊκά, ἐμβάδας ἐφόρουν καὶ ἱμάτια ποδήρη.

On the other hand, it is used as in classical literature by Lucian, *Pseud.* 19, σὺ κοσμίως πάνν χρυσᾶς ἐμβάδας ἔχων καὶ ἐσθῆτα τυρρανικήν· *Rhet. Praec.* 15, ἡ ἐμβὰς Σικυωνία πύλοις τοῖς λευκοῖς ἐπιπρέπει· by Synesius, *Epist.* 52, p. 189 c, παρ' οὗ μοι δοκεῖς καὶ πέρυσιν ἐξωνεῖσθαι τὰς ἀνατρήτους ἐμβάδας· *Etym. Magn.* s. v. ἐμβάδες· εἶδος ὑποδήματος· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμβαίνειν τοὺς πόδας· Thom. Mag. s. v. ἐμβάδες· ἐμβάδες τὰ κωμικὰ ὑποδήματα, ἐμβάδια δὲ τὰ ἀπλῶς ὑποδήματα· Ammon. *De diff. vocab.* s. v. ἐμβάδες· ἐμβάδες καὶ ἔμβατα διαφέρει. ἐμβάδες μὲν γὰρ, τὰ κωμικὰ ὑποδήματα. ἔμβατα δὲ τὰ τραγικά· Hesych. s. v. ἐμβάς· εἶδος ὑποδήματος· Pseudo-Orpheus, *Argonautica*, 594,

αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ μολπῆς γέρας ὤπασε δίος Ἴησων
ἐμβάδα χρυσεῖσι τιταινομένην πτερύγεσσιν·

Anecd. Graec. (Bekker), p. 249, 25, εἶδος ὑποδήματος. ἴσως παρὰ τὸ ἐμβαίνειν τοὺς πόδας κατωνόμασται. The fact that Lucian twice uses ἐμβάς without any tragic connotation might tend to prove that in the first passage quoted from him (*Somn.* 26) the reading κοθόρνους of Mss. ACT is the correct one. Thus we find ἐμβάς used seven times as tragic boot; but out of that number twice the text is corrupt, twice our authorities, Epictetus and the *Anthologia Graeca*, are not trustworthy for scenic antiquities, and Pollux is in absolute contradiction to Ammonius, Thomas Magister, Suidas, Libanius, Dio Cassius, Lucian, and the scholiasts, who agree that ἐμβάτης is the correct term for the high-soled boot of tragedy. Pollux calls the ἐμβάτης the shoe of comedy (4, 115), and reiterates this 7, 91, ἐμβάται δὲ ὄνομα τοῖς κωμικοῖς ὑποδήμασιν. He must be incorrect in this and must have interchanged the words ἐμβάς and ἐμβάτης; for the latter is used thirteen times as the boot of tragedy.

Lucian, *Jup. Trag.* 41, implies that three famous actors of earlier centuries¹ wore this ἐμβάτης. But the names are probably used as stock names for tragic actors of any time. His words are, ἀνάγκη δυοῖν θάτερον ἦτοι Πῶλον καὶ Ἀριστόδημον καὶ Σάτυρον ἡγεῖσθαι σε θεοὺς εἶναι τότε ἢ τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν θεῶν αὐτὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐμβάτας καὶ τοὺς ποδήρεις χιτῶνας κτλ. He further shows that it is exactly the high-

¹ See Völker, *De Graecarum Fabularum Actoribus*, Diss. Hall., 1880.

soled boot which he calls ἐμβάτης, *Necyom.* 16, καταβάς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμβατῶν πένης καὶ ταπεινὸς περίεισιν. *Quom. histor. s. conscrib.* 22, ὥστε τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐοικὸς εἶναι τραγωδῶ τὸν ἕτερον μὲν πόδα ἐπ' ἐμβάτου ὑψηλοῦ βεβηκότι, θάτερον δὲ σανδάλῳ ὑποδεδεμένῳ. *De saltat.* 27, τὴν τραγωδίαν . . . φοβερόν θέαμα . . . ἐμβάταις ὑψηλοῖς ἐποχούμενος. The most definite statement of all is the scholiast's definition of ἐμβάται, *Luc. Epist. Saturn.* 19, τὰ ξύλα, ἃ ἐμβάλλουσιν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας, ἵνα φανῶσι μακρότεροι. According to the scholium on *σκηνή*, *Soph. Ai.* 3, they are a part of the theatrical σκευή: σκηνή. ἡ πρόσκαιρος κατοικία, ἣν Ὅμηρος κλισίην λέγει, καὶ ἡ τῶν δραματουργῶν σκευή, ἣ γοῦν τὰ προσωπεῖα, οἱ ἐμβάται, καὶ αἱ τοιαῦται στολαὶ καὶ τᾶλλα. *Dio Cassius*, 63, 8, 4, mentions ἐμβάται in the list of Nero's outfit for his tour of artistic conquest through Greece, καὶ ὅπλα κινήματα τε καὶ πλήκτρα προσωπεῖα τε καὶ ἐμβάτας ἔφερον, and Nero wore them in the theatre, 63, 22, 4, εἶδον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκείνον . . . ἐν τῷ τοῦ θεάτρου κύκλῳ καὶ ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ ποτὲ μὲν κιθάραν ἔχοντα καὶ ὀρθοστάδιον καὶ κοθόρνους, ποτὲ δὲ ἐμβάτας καὶ προσωπεῖον. *Liban. Or.* 63, III, p. 385, 25 (*Reiske*), shows that they were high, τραγωδοὺς δὲ ποιεῖ βραχυτέρους γόνατα ἀποτέμνων, ἐπειδήπερ ἐμβάτας ἀναβάντες ἐμχανήσαντο τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπεραίρειν. *Suidas*, s. v. Αἰσχύλος and φαιός, calls them τραγικοί, and also *Ammon. De diff. vocab.* s. v. ἐμβάδες and *Thom. Mag.* s. v. ἐμβάδες (see p. 150).

The frequency with which ἐμβάτης is used for the high-soled boot of tragedy unquestionably proves that Pollux is mistaken in calling it the shoe of comedy. The ἐμβάς is given a tragic connotation because of its similar spelling, and should be applied to the shoe of comedy which was nothing more than a common shoe.

κόθορνος.—It is very difficult to tell whether κόθορνος, which until the Imperial period was used only of a luxurious shoe for women, came to be applied in Roman times to the high-soled boot of tragedy, or whether it always retained its classical meaning and was wrongly called the tragic boot by authors under the influence of Roman customs. The latter view, to which I lean, is the view of Müller,¹ Arnold,² and Dierks.³

¹ Müller, *Lehrbuch d. griech. Bühnenalterthümer*, p. 239.

² Arnold, in *Baumeister's Denkmäler*, p. 1853, n. 14.

³ Dierks, *Trag. Histr. Hab.*, p. 12, note 3, p. 16.

The Romans, indeed, carried over from the Greek the idea of a boot for women or effeminate men. Cf. Cic. *Fin.* 3, 14, 46; *Phil.* 3, 6, 16. Verg. *Geor.* 2, 8. Vell. 2, 82, 4. Tac. *Ann.* 11, 31. But they extended the meaning to 'hunting-boot' (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1, 337; *Ecl.* 7, 32) and to 'high-soled shoe of tragedy,' which is by far the commonest meaning of *cothurnus*.¹ This was its meaning as early as the latter half of the first century B.C. Hor. *C.* 2, 1, 9-12,

Paulum severae musa tragoediae
desit theatris; mox ubi publicas
res ordinaris, grande munus
Cecropio repetes coturno, —

and by the time of Quintilian (*Inst. Or.* 6, 1, 36) the word was used in proverbs. To Horace's mind *cothurnus* meant the buskin of Greek tragedy, as his words above quoted show. How this change occurred it is difficult to discover. My own theory is that when the high-soled shoe, the *ἐμβάτης*, was introduced into tragedy, the Romans called it by the name of a Greek shoe with which they were already familiar, which in general shape and decoration (for the *κόθορνος* was presumably the most richly ornamented of all Greek shoes) corresponded with the high-soled boots which the tragic actors then assumed.

Greek literature supports this theory, for it is the authors most under Roman influence who use *κόθορνος* of the high-soled tragic boot. Lucian, whose usual word is *ἐμβάτης*, uses the word in this sense twice, *Pro imag.* 3, εἴ τις ὑποδησάμενος κοθόρνους μικρὸς αὐτὸς ὢν ἐρίζοι περὶ μεγέθους τοῖς ἀπὸ ἰσοπέδου ὅλῳ πῆχει ὑπερέχουσιν, and the doubtful passage *Somn.* 26, καὶ τῶν κοθόρνων (v. l. ἐμβάδων) τὴν ὑπόδεσιν ἀμορφοτάτην καὶ οὐ κατὰ λόγον τοῦ ποδός. Pollux so uses the word twice, 4, 115, καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματα κόθορνοι μὲν τὰ τραγικὰ καὶ ἐμβάδες, ἐμβάται δὲ τὰ κωμικὰ. 7, 85, ἐμβάδες· εὐτελὲς μὲν τὸ ὑπόδημα,

¹ Var. *Sat. Frag.* 10 of *Virgula Divina*, p. 237, 4 (Riese). Prop. 2 (3), 34, 41. Hor. *C.* 2, 1, 12; *Sat.* 1, 5, 64; *A. P.* 80, 280. Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 10. Ovid. *Am.* 1, 15, 15; 2, 18, 15, 18; 3, 1, 14, 31, 45, 63; *Fast.* 5, 348; *Ib.* 531, 595; *Ex Pont.* 4, 16, 29; *Rem. Am.* 375; *Trist.* 2, 393, 553, 554. Sen. *Dial.* 9, 11, 8; *Ep.* 1, 8, 8; 9, 76, 31. Plin. *N. H.* 35, 10 (36), 111. Juv. 6, 506, 634; 7, 72; 15, 29. Quint. *Inst. Or.* 6, 1, 36; 10, 1, 68. Mart. 3, 20, 7; 5, 5, 8; 5, 30, 1; 7, 63, 5; 8, 3, 13; 8, 18, 7; 11, 9, 1. Tac. *De Or.* 10. Suet. *Cal.* 52. And others.

Θράκιον δὲ τὸ εὖρημα, τὴν δὲ ἰδέαν κοθόρνοις ταπεινοῖς ἔοικεν. And it is found in the anonymous *Vita Aeschyli* (Westermann, p. 121, 79), *μείζοσι τε τοῖς κοθόρνοις* (τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς) *μετεωρίσας*. On the contrary, it is used in its classical sense by Lucian, *Amor.* 50; *Pseudol.* 16; Pollux, 7, 91; Plutarch, *Nic.* 2; Themistius, *Or.* 67 D; and Zenob. 3, 93, who repeat the story about Theramenes which Xenophon first narrated. Dio Cassius, 63, 22, 4, uses *κοθόρνος* of the cithara-player's shoe¹ and contrasts it with the *ἐμβάτης* of an actor (see p. 151). Pausanias, 8, 31, 4, describes a statue of Dionysus wearing the *κοθόρνος*, *κοθόρνοί τε καὶ τὰ ὑποδήματά ἐστιν αὐτῷ καὶ ἔχει τῇ χειρὶ ἔκπωμα, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ θύρσον*. The scholiasts (Ar. *Av.* 994; *Eccl.* 346; *Ran.* 47, 541; *Nub.* 361) call the *κοθόρνος* a boot fitting either foot, and so the nickname of Theramenes, while the scholiast on Ar. *Ran.* 47 adds that it was the shoe for women, *τινὲς ὅτι ὁ κοθόρνος εἰς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς πόδας ἀρμόζει, οἱ δὲ ὅτι ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶν ἀρμόττει*. *ἔνθεν καὶ Θηραμένης κοθόρνος ἐλέγετο, ὅτι τοῖς καιροῖς καθομιλεῖν δύναται*. ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν ἐν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ποσὶν ἀρμόζειν αὐτὸν φησιν. *ἐκπλήττεται δὲ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὁρῶν τὴν αἰτοπον ταύτην σκευὴν, καὶ ὅτι τὰ ἀμκτα ἔμixin*. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κροκωτὸς καὶ ὁ κοθόρνος γυναικεῖά ἐστιν, ἡ δὲ λεοντῇ καὶ τὸ ῥόπαλον ἀνδρῶα. The lexicographers, likewise, have no thought of a tragic boot in their definitions of the word: Photius, s. v. *κοθόρνος*, *ὑπόδημα ἀρχαῖον κοινὸν ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ταῦτὸν ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ποσὶν ἐφαρμόττον*. *Etym. Magn.* s. v. *κοθόρνος*, *γυναικεῖον ὑπόδημα τετράγωνον τὸ σχῆμα, ἀρμόζον ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ποσὶ*. Suidas, s. v. *κοθόρνος*, *ὑπόδημα ἀμφοτεροδέξιον*. Ἀριστοφάνης (*Av.* 991) “*τίς ὁ κοθόρνος τῆς ὁδοῦ;*” οἷον *τί ὑποδησάμενος πάρει*; Hesychius, s. v. *κοθόρνος*, *ὑπόδημα ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ποσὶ πεποιημένον, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐφαρμόττειν φασὶ τὸ ὑπόδημα τὸν κοθόρνον*. cf. Joannes Cinnamus, p. 128 B, *κοθόρνον δίκην αἰεὶ μεθαρμόξῃ ταῖς τύχαις*.

If now lexicographers and scholiasts never mention tragedy in connection with the *κοθόρνος*, if it is called by them a shoe for women, if Pausanias supports them by giving the *κοθόρνος* to Dionysus, and Dio Cassius makes it the elaborate footgear of a cithara-player, what are we to think of the evidence of Lucian and Pollux and the anonymous

¹ Cf. a painting on a Boeotian vase published by Dumont et Chaplain, *Céramiques d. l. Grèce Propre*, I, pl. 14, Paris, 1888.

author of the *Vita Aeschyli* who stand alone in this period for *κόθορνος* as the high-soled boot of tragedy? As I have previously stated, I believe that they use *κόθορνος* with its Latin significance. Lucian, a native of a Romanized province, a traveller and resident in other parts of the Roman empire, probably is guilty here of a Latinism. *ἐμβάτης* is his ordinary word, once *κόθορνος* is the reading in a corrupt text, only once does he without doubt use the word in its Roman sense. It seems clearly an incorrect use of the Greek word. Pollux is plainly culpable of the self-same error. When he wrote his definition of *κόθορνος*, the Latin *cothurnus* had been the Roman name of the buskin for over two hundred years. Pollux did not take his interpretation immediately from the Latin, but from one who had received a thorough Roman education, Juba of Mauretania, whose work *περὶ τῆς θεατρικῆς ἱστορίας* was also used by the author of the *Vita Aeschyli*.¹ It is only natural, then, that in this point of scenic antiquities he should show the influence of Roman tradition. It is for these reasons that I doubt the applicability of the Greek *κόθορνος* to the boot of tragedy. When the evidence for *ἐμβάτης* is so strong and for *κόθορνος* so weak, it seems unlikely that *κόθορνος* had any meaning of "high-soled tragic boot."

κρηπίς. — A single unknown authority declares that actors wore *κρηπίδες*. *Vita Sophoclis* (Westermann), p. 128, 30, φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἰστρος τὰς λευκὰς κρηπίδας αὐτὸν ἐξευρηκέναι, ἃς ὑποδύνται οἱ τε ὑποκριταὶ καὶ οἱ χορευταί. The fact that the chorus wear them as well as the actors would prove without need of further evidence that these shoes were not high-soled, if a sentence in Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca* did not declare the opposite, p. 273, 17, κρηπιδουργός· ὁ τὰς κρηπίδας ἐργαζόμενος σκυτοτόμος. κρηπίς δὲ εἶδος ὑποδήματος ἀνδρικοῦ, ὑψηλὰ ἔχοντος τὰ κατῦματα. This evidence, at best untrustworthy, is negated by a large number of reliable authorities who use the word in quite different senses: Aristocles ap. Athen. 14, 621 B, σεμνότερος δὲ τῶν τοιούτων ἐστὶ ποιητῶν ὁ ἱλαρωδὲς καλούμενος . . . καὶ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὑποδήμασιν ἐχρήτο, ὥς φησιν ὁ Ἀριστοκλῆς, νῦν δὲ κρηπίσιν. Lucian, *Rhet. Praec.* 15, ἡ κρηπίς Ἀττικὴ καὶ γυναικεία, τὸ πολυσχιδές.

¹ Rohde, *De Pollucis Fontibus*, p. 82, Leipzig, 1870. Dierks, *Trag. Hist. Hab.*, p. 12, note 3.

Pollux, 7, 85, κρηπίδες· τὸ μὲν φόρημα στρατιωτικόν. Dio Cass. 77, 7, τοῖς ὅπλοις οἷς ποτε ἐπ' ἐκείνου ἐκέχρητο ὀπλίσαι . . . κράνος ἀμοβόειον, θώραξ λινούς τρίμιτος, ἀσπίς χαλκῇ, δόρυ μακρὸν, αἰχμὴ βραχεία, κρηπίδες, ξίφος. Heliodorus, *Aethiop.* 3, 3, κρηπίς μὲν αὐτοῖς ἱμάντι φοινικῷ διάπλοκος ὑπὲρ ἀστράγαλον ἐσφίγγετο. Hesychius, s. v. κρηπίς· ὑπόδημα. Without further discussion it must be obvious that κρηπίς is incorrectly applied to the high-soled tragic boot.¹

ὀκρίβας. — It cannot be denied that this word is used of the high-soled tragic boot in the period we are discussing: Luc. *Nero*, 9, εἰσέμπει Νέρων ἐπ' ὀκριβάντων τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ὑποκριτάς. Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 5, 9, (speaks of Nero) ἐφ' ἐστῶτα δ' ὀκρίβασιν οὕτως ὑψηλοῖς. *Vit. Apoll.* 6, 11 (of Aeschylus), ὀκρίβαντος² δὲ τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς ἀνεβίβασεν. *Vit. Soph.* 1, 9, ἐσθῆτί τ' αὐτὴν κατασκευάσας καὶ ὀκρίβαντι ὑψηλῷ καὶ . . . οἷς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τε καὶ ὑπὸ σκηνῆς χορὴ πράττειν. Themistius, *Or.* 316 D, Αἰσχύλος δὲ τρίτον ὑποκριτὴν καὶ ὀκρίβαντας, and Hesychius, s. v. ὀκρίβας makes the ἐμβάτης synonymous with it. *Etym. Magn.* s. v. ὀκρίβαντες· ἐφ' ὧν ἄκρων ἐστᾶσιν οἱ ὑποκριταί. These authorities establish beyond question such a meaning of ὀκρίβας, but it is more than likely that this grew out of a misunderstanding of the passage in Plato's *Symposium*, 194 B. The one direct commentary upon this passage, moreover, upholds the classic usage: Timaeus, *Lexicon Vocum Platonicarum* (Ruhnken) s. v. ὀκρίβας· πῆγμα τὸ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τιθέμενον, ἐφ' οὗ ἴστανται οἱ τὰ δημόσια λέγοντες. θυμέλη γὰρ οὐδέπω ἦν. λέγει γοῦν τις· λόγιόν ἐστι πῆξις ἐστορεσμένη ξύλων, εἰτα ἐξῆς ὀκρίβας δὲ ὀνομάζεται.

Of the six words we have discussed, then, only ἐμβάτης and ὀκρίβας can properly apply to the high-soled boot of tragedy. Both are used of a tragic shoe of the Imperial period; and Aeschylus is called the inventor of this style of boot. But this invention is assigned to classical times only by Latin writers and such late Greeks as Philostratus, Themistius, the author of the *Vita Aeschyli*, and Suidas. By all others

¹ Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. d. Antig.*, under *Crepida*.

² The text is ungrammatical as it stands. The sense is clear, for Philostratus never uses the word except in referring to the boot of tragedy. An article at the least would be required here; but the genitive is not so used with ἀναβιβάζω. I would suggest ἐπ' ὀκρίβαντας.

the wearing of the high-soled tragic boot is treated as a custom of the times without reference to the age of the custom. On such fragile evidence as these give is based the modern theory of the use of the high-soled boot. And the evidence of two of these ought to be entirely disregarded, — of Suidas, because he tries to find a classical equivalent for the *ἐμβάτης* of Roman times in the *ἀρβύλη*, the incorrectness of which has already been shown; of Themistius, because his notice about the third actor is incorrect. And the others apparently have assigned this invention to Aeschylus because he was the first great dramatist and an innovator along many lines.

There is a story told about Aeschines as an actor in the anonymous life of that orator (*Vit. Aeschin.* 3, 26, Westerm.) which hardly needs comment, so obvious is it that the situation does not require a high-soled boot for its explanation: Δημοχάρης δὲ ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς Δημοσθένους, εἰ ἄρα πιστευτέον αὐτῷ λέγοντι περὶ Αἰσχίνου, φησὶν Ἰσχάνδρου τοῦ τραγωδοποιοῦ τριταγωνιστὴν γενέσθαι τὸν Αἰσχίνην, καὶ ὑποκρινόμενον Οἰνόμαον δῶκοντα Πέλοπα αἰσχροῦς πεσεῖν, καὶ ἀναστῆναι ὑπὸ Σαννίωνος τοῦ χοροδιδασκάλου. Clumsiness or a trifling accident account for an actor's falling better than the use of a high-soled boot.

Literature of this period, therefore, does not furnish any convincing evidence that the high-soled boot was used in the classical period. For this late period itself the use is unquestionably established; but the words for the boot are perverted from their classical meaning, and probably in all cases but the *ἐμβάτης* are inexact names for even the boot of this period.

EVIDENCE FROM ART OF THE IMPERIAL AND LATER PERIODS

Does the *art* of this period prove the use of the high-soled boot in classic Greek tragedy? The sole appears with varying height in many works of art of this time, but their evidence is good only for the period in which they were finished. Only one of them can by any possibility furnish evidence on the classic usage.

The earliest appearance of the high-soled boot is on a marble base discovered in Halicarnassus.¹ Among the Muses who form the sculptural

¹ Trendelenberg, *Der Musenchor* (36 Progr. z. Winckelmannsfest d. arch. Gesellsch. z. Berlin), Plate, Berlin, 1876.

decoration of this basis, the tragic Muse is plainly distinguishable by the mask which she holds in her right hand. On her feet are ornamented boots whose soles would be in actual life (i. e. if the whole relief were enlarged to life-size) a little less than three inches.¹ Therefore, since this basis is dated at about the end of the second century B.C., the use of the high sole as a symbol at that time points to a much earlier introduction of it. Yet a use during fifty years would not carry the date of its introduction back earlier than the beginning of the Roman period.

Other reliefs help us to discover the shape and height of this high sole, but, being of a later date, they cannot be used as evidence for the fifth and fourth centuries. Such are the relief of the Apotheosis of Homer,² by Archelaos of Priene, on which sandals appear in place of boots, and these sandals, reckoned proportionately as before, not two inches high; the relief of the Meditating Muse on the so-called Capitoline sarcophagus, now in the Louvre (No. 307),³ whose shoes have three-inch soles; the Pourtalés relief of a resting tragic actor of markedly Roman features whose highly ornamented shoes have soles less than an inch and a half high;⁴ the relief of Valerian Paterculus on

¹ My figures are based on the proportion the high sole bears to the length of the leg from the bottom of the foot to the centre of the kneecap. This length I have called twenty inches, slightly in excess of the standard measurements (Dr. D. A. Sargent), but sufficiently close for approximate reckoning. I chose this length in preference to the total height of the figure as being more easily ascertainable when masks were worn.

² Published by Visconti, *Museo Pio-Clementino*, I, p. 97, pl. B, Rome, 1782. Poorly published by Overbeck, *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, II⁴, p. 465, fig. 226, Leipzig, 1894. See also Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, pl. 516, No. 1051, Paris, 1832-1834; Friedrichs-Wolters, *Gipsabg.*, No. 1629.

³ Published by Visconti, *Museo Pio-Clementino*, I, pl. B, No. 2; Clarac, *Mus. d. Sculpt.*, pls. 205 and 514, No. 1049; Wieseler, *Theatergeb. u. Denkm.*, pl. IX, 2. These publications disagree in the representation of the high soles. Some make them of equal height, others of differing heights. If the unequal soles are correct, there may be in this an attempt to represent the fact that the actors wore soles proportionate to their importance,—protagonist higher than deuteragonist, etc. The wall paintings show this most plainly.

⁴ Published by Panofka, *Antiques du Cabinet du Comte de Pourtalés-Gorgier*, pl. XXXVIII, Paris, 1834, with restorations; and by Wieseler, *Theatergeb. u. Denkm.*, pl. IV, 10. Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. d. Antiq.* s. v. *Cothurnus*.

which the high sole appears to be about three inches high;¹ a relief on a bronze mirror-case in which most of the figures, even the chorus, have shoes with soles from four to five inches high;² a gem on which Melpomene is represented standing on pedestals nine or ten inches high.³

Because of its frequent use in hand-books to represent the dress of a tragic actor, a small ivory statuette found near Rieti has become very well known.⁴ It is a mistake, however, to use this as evidence for the dress of a tragic actor in the classical period. It is a work of the Christian era and, therefore, to be used only as evidence for that period.⁵ If we are to regard the supports under each foot as soles, we get the excessive height of seven inches for the soles. But it is a question whether these are not rather pegs to hold the statuette in some sort of base. The drapery is not treated as if hanging above these, but as if touching the ground; and, besides, a high sole is represented above beneath the drapery and visible in the partly broken foot.

A mosaic of the first century A.D., in the Museo Pio-Clementino, represents pairs of tragic actors in full dress and with shoes whose soles vary in height from five to ten inches.⁶ But we cannot regard this mosaic as exact. Both actors wear shoes of equal height, and paintings from Pompeii and Herculaneum contradict this.

These paintings must of necessity date earlier than 79 A.D., and many were undoubtedly finished in the first century B.C. Some of these

¹ Published by Winckelmann, *Monumenti Antichi Inediti*, I, pl. 189, Rome, 1767; and by Wieseler, *Theatergeb. u. Denkm.*, pl. XIII, 1.

² Published and discussed by Arnold, *Platte mit scenischen Vorstellungen im Collegio Romano (Festgruss der phil. Gesellsch. z. Würzburg an die XXVI. Versammlung deutsch. Philol. u. Schulm.*, pp. 142-157), Würzburg, 1868.

³ Published by Wieseler, *Theatergeb. u. Denkm.*, pl. IX, 3. Cf. Meineke, *Com. Gr. Frag.* II, 1, p. 91.

⁴ First published in colors in the *Monumenti Inediti*, XI, pl. 13, and discussed by Robert, *Annali d. Inst.*, 1880, p. 206 ff.

⁵ Robert, *Hall. Winckelmannspr.* 22, p. 22, n. 16, and Pottier, in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. d. Ant.*, p. 1546. But Haigh, *Att. Th.*, p. 272, and Bethe, *Proleg. z. Gesch. d. Th.*, p. 326, use this as evidence for the classic period.

⁶ Published in colors by Wieseler, *Theatergeb. u. Denkm.*, pls. VII, VIII, 1-11. Single groups and figures are published elsewhere: Navarre, *Dionysos*, frontispiece; Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. d. Ant.* s. v. *Cothurnus*; etc.

paintings, in which we plainly see the representation of scenes from tragedy, depict the actors *without* high soles. One set of wall-paintings of this type is declared by Maass to be copied from originals of the late fourth or early third centuries, the time of Ptolemy Philadelphos, and so may be used as evidence for the early Hellenistic period.¹ Some of the scenes are from comedies and satyr-plays, but many represent scenes from tragedy as if the actual drama were being performed. In these the absence of the high soles is noteworthy. If they had ever been used, they ought to have appeared in these paintings which represent the actual performance of a tragedy.

Two other paintings, one from Pompeii, the other from Herculaneum, may have fourth century originals. The proportions of the figures in the former² show that no elevated sole is thought of on these figures, although the feet are hidden under the long chitons. The other painting³ represents an actor resting after his victory, still in full tragic dress, but his shoes have only ordinary soles.

The evidence to be derived from these three paintings is conditioned by the chance that they are not copied from classic originals. Robert believes in this classic origin,⁴ and so does Leo, who maintains, however, that "Das Fehlen der Kothurne erklärt sich aus malerischen Gründen,"⁵ an easy answer to give to all pieces of evidence where the high sole is not found. But no proof that the high-soled boot was worn in classical times can be based on such a statement.

The high-soled boots appear in two paintings of this period. But authorities refer them to the immediate period. No one proposes classic originals for them. One of these represents two men raised on soles which for the more important rôle have a height of four inches,

¹ Maass, *Affreschi Scenici di Pompei*, *Annali d. Inst.*, 1881, pp. 109-159. Published in *Mon. Ined.* XI, pls. 30-32.

² Published by Presuhn, *Pompeji*, *Die neuesten Ausgrabungen von 1878-1881*, Part IX, pl. 4, Leipzig, 1882; Robert, *Hall. Winckelmannspr.* 22, p. 38.

³ Published in *Pittura Antiche d'Ercolano*, IV, pl. 41, p. 195, Naples, 1765; Wieseler, *Theatergeb. u. Denkm.*, pl. IV, 12; Daremb. et Sagl., *Dict. d. Ant.*, fig. 2656; etc.

⁴ Robert, *Hall. Winckelmannspr.* 22, p. 25 ff.

⁵ Leo, *Rheinisches Museum*, XXXVIII, p. 344. Cf. Daremb. et Sagl. s. v. *Cothurnus*.

for the lesser of an inch and a quarter.¹ The other represents two women with soles of the same relative height as in the previous painting.²

A famous painting from Cyrene is taken by Wieseler as evidence for the use of the high-soled boot. But it needs only a single glance at his own reproduction, in which the peculiar objects he calls soles are plainly detached from the feet of the figures, to convince one that he is wrong.³

Finally we must consider the most important painting of all. The reliefs, mosaics, and paintings hitherto examined have not been able to prove the existence of the high-soled tragic boot before the close of the Hellenistic period. A small, painted marble plaque, however, discovered in Herculaneum, has been thought by Professor C. Robert sufficiently trustworthy evidence to compel him to change his whole theory of the high-soled boot and force him to acknowledge its use in the fifth century. That victorious choregi often erected votive offerings to commemorate their victories, and that copies of these were made by later painters, is a fact already established by Reisch.⁴ One of these Robert finds in the plaque-painting from Herculaneum.⁵

His argument (p. 15) is "Drei Figuren mit Masken und im Bühnencostüm, zwei von ihnen in erregter Conversation, was kann das anders sein als die Scene eines Dramas, und wozu konnte ein solches Tafelgemälde anders dienen, denn als Weihgeschenk eines attischen Choregen für einen dramatischen Sieg? . . . Da es als Kunstwerk nicht gerade hervorragend ist, dürfen wir von vorn herein vermuthen, dass sich ein

¹ Published by Wieseler, *Theatergeb. u. Denkm.*, pl. IX, 1. Described by Helbig, *Wandgemälde d. vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens*, No. 1467, Leipzig, 1868.

² Published by Gell, *Pompeiana*, N. S. II, pl. LXXV; Wieseler, *Theatergeb. u. Denkm.*, pl. VIII, 12. The best publication of the high soles alone is Wieseler, *op. cit.*, pl. A, 23. Publication in colors by Niccolini, *Casa di Pompei*, I, p. 27 (*Casa di Castore e Polluce*, pl. III), Naples, 1854. See Helbig, *Wandgem.*, No. 1465.

³ Wieseler, *Theatergeb. u. Denkm.*, pl. XIII, 2, pp. 100, 102.

⁴ Reisch, *Griechische Weihgeschenke*, in *Abhandlungen des archäologisch-epigraphischen Seminars der Universität Wien*, VIII, p. 1 ff.

⁵ Robert, *Hallisches Winkelmannsprog.* 22, p. 14 ff. Published here and in *Pitt. d' Ercol.* I, 4, p. 19; Wieseler, *Theatergeb. u. Denkm.*, pl. XI, 5. Described by Helbig, *Wandgem.*, No. 1464.

anderes, vielleicht litterarisches Interesse an das Bild knüpfte und dass dieses der Grund war, weshalb man es copirte." He thinks that the style and technique of the piece would date its original in the fifth century. The copy, perhaps, was made from literary interest more than because of its beauty, which, indeed, as he remarks, is rather hard to see. Its literary interest is as a picture of a tragic scene and he identifies this exactly, as the *Hippolytus* of Euripides, 704 ff., and the three persons represented on the plaque, as Phaedra, the nurse, and the chorus-leader. This settled, he can date the original votive-offering in 428 B.C., the year of the victory of the *Hippolytus*. The picture itself shows us two figures of the same height and one a head taller than they, all apparently wearing masks. This difference in height leads Robert to think that concealed under the long chiton are six-inch soles. The relatively short arms support this idea. Therefore, he says, the actors of heroic rôles wore boots with six-inch soles in the fifth century. For the fourth century he admits that the ordinary shoe replaced the high-soled shoe and in that fact he sees a reflection of the comic or realistic tendency of the plays of Euripides. To the third century he grants the high sole again, not reaching its greatest height, however, until the full Imperial period.

Such is the irregular history of the tragic boot, as Robert conceives it. The arguments from the fourth century are so strong that he is compelled to grant to it the ordinary shoe. He builds the entire history of the tragic boot in the fifth century upon the one marble plaque from Herculaneum.

The unsupported character of this evidence is in itself a weakness; but there are other weak points in the argument based upon it. For, while pointing out that Euripides was responsible for the adoption of the *low* sole, he, nevertheless, identifies the scene in one of Euripides' own plays. Thus, by his own interpretation this plaque shows the costume of the Euripidean drama which, as he thinks, was the main factor in introducing the low-soled shoe.

Again, his identification of the scene, while it seems to fit the *Hippolytus*, is at the best pure conjecture. When we have only a small fraction of the plays of the great dramatists, it is hazardous to identify so general a scene in one of those plays and then not only date a possible original votive-offering by it, but build up from it a scheme of

costuming for that period of the drama. The scene itself is capable of many interpretations, and, if considered to represent a quarrel between a nurse and her mistress, might fit many of the tragedies not preserved to us. In fact, the scene is so very vague in its application that some authorities have even considered it a scene from comedy.¹ Certainly the costume is not the typical one of tragedy.

That paintings, especially those from Pompeii and Herculaneum, were not careful in representations of height is known from many sources.² Sculpture, too, as seen in the Parthenon Frieze, took liberties with the heights of human beings. Importance was often represented by size; so here it is not necessary to suppose the use of high-soled shoes because one figure is taller than the others.

Furthermore, the Piraeus Relief dates within twenty-five years of the time when the high sole was used according to Robert. Can we believe that the costuming of actors should have changed so radically in that space of time?

Lastly, it must be remembered that Robert is basing his evidence of the high sole for the whole period of dramatic excellence on shoes that are *not to be seen*, and only probable because one figure is taller than the others, and disproportionate in itself. When it is thought that poor and careless workmanship might account for this lack of proportion, it does indeed seem dangerous to place much confidence in so ill-painted a plaque. Who, when he thinks of the majestic simplicity of Aeschylus and the sweet beauty of Sophocles, does not feel a shrinking in his heart at thought of their being represented by such hideous, disproportionate, padded creatures as these of Robert's picture, and turn with relief and contentment to the beautiful, simple dress of the three actors on the Piraeus Relief! Far more appropriately would Robert's picture represent the drama when it had reached the point of decline it has in our own day, when naturalness had given way to padded show and extravagance, than that period when, like our own Elizabethan times, imaginations were strong, tastes simple, and the drama strong enough in itself not to need artificial support.

¹ Wieseler, *Theatergeb. u. Denkm.*, p. 86.

² See Wieseler, *op. cit.*, pl. XI, 2; Niccolini, *Casa di Pompei*, I, p. 14, pl. VI (*Casa di Poeta Tragico*).

My argument against the high-soled tragic boot is entirely in line with all the latest investigations in scenic antiquities. These all tend to show that the great dramas were presented much more simply than we had been in the habit of thinking. Only a circle at first about which sat the spectators watching the dancing. At first, also, no scenery; then rock and tomb and altar; finally, the palace itself (in reality the dressing-rooms); arrangements all of the simplest kind. Our own Elizabethan dramas furnish a close parallel. Without even a permanent theatre, are we to suppose the actors appeared looking like the creatures of Robert's picture?¹ For my part, I can not. The plaque offers too many doubts, is dated back into the fifth century on too many hypotheses, to satisfy me that it is reliable. Moreover, consider what these suppositions have led to: a six-inch sole for the fifth century, none for the fourth, back again in the third. Such a development is most unnatural, but Robert is forced to propose it by the strong evidence from the fourth century against the high sole and his belief in the reliability of the marble plaque from Herculaneum as evidence for the fifth century. The Piraeus Relief, on the other hand, is at the latest early fourth century work, with a strong probability of dating in the fifth century. It is a genuine original. Robert's original is a matter of hypothesis, and the high soles are hypothetical in this hypothesis. Removed so far from fact they vanish into nothingness. Consequently, no evidence for the use of the high-soled boot in the fifth century can be drawn from this plaque.

The art of the Imperial period, therefore, while proving conclusively the use of the high-soled boot in that period, cannot prove it for earlier times, and some of the evidence confirms the evidence from classic art that the high sole was not used in those times.

CONCLUSION

The conclusions to be drawn from this investigation may be briefly stated. We have found that this boot is first represented in art at the close of the second century B.C. and then appears as a symbol of tragedy,

¹ In coming through the door of the seven-foot high proscenium of Oropus an actor in the full dress of onkos and high soles would have had to bend his head considerably to get out at all.

that it is first mentioned in literature of the Imperial period, and that its use in this period is certain. We can not be so positive with regard to the Hellenistic period, but the literature that we have knows no name for such a boot. For the fifth and fourth centuries we have more than a plausible argument against the use of such a boot. The literature of the period has no name for any special tragic boot; the drama is full of lively action which the six-inch and higher sole we are asked to believe in almost precludes; the art of the period never pictures it either as a symbol of tragedy with the mask or as the footwear of actors, and the most positive piece of evidence on either side of the question, the Piraeus Relief, represents actors with natural, ordinary boots.

For these reasons we are led to believe that the late writers on scenic antiquities among the Greeks mistakenly supposed that the stage costume in their own day had remained the same for over five hundred years, and that the origin of the high sole was to be found in classic Greek drama. Quite naturally they ascribed the invention to Aeschylus. The evidence which we have does not seem to support their statements. And on the ground of this evidence I base my argument that the high sole was the invention of centuries after the classical period.¹

¹ How or when this came in, I am unable to say. The best discussion of this point is to be found in the *Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm*, 22 (1898), p. 25 ff., by Professor Carl Robert.